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## *The Church of Worcester from the Eighth to the Twelfth Century*

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### PART I

#### *The Constitution of the 'Familia' from the Foundation of the See to St. Oswald*

Venerable as are our English Cathedrals in their actual fabric, they are even more venerable as institutions; and notwithstanding all that previous generations of scholars and antiquaries have effected, their early history is still a field calling out for the labourer, and much of it is still virgin soil.—C. H. Turner, *Early Worcester MSS.*, O.U.P., 1916, Preface i.

VERY divergent views have been held about the constitution of the Church of Worcester in the centuries before Oswald established the Benedictine Rule. The ideas of eighteenth-century historians are perhaps of little importance to-day in the light of our further knowledge, for in the last fifty years the attention of an increasing number of scholars has been turned upon the investigation and elucidation of the history of that church, and much light has already been thrown upon its dark spots. But for a time there was considerable confusion, and it was a little hard to see where the truth lay, so various were the views put forward by investigators.

On the one side were ranged those who appeared to have formed the view that the Church of Worcester was monastic, if not from the foundation of the See in 680, at least for more than a century prior to the coming of Oswald. On the other were those who denied the existence of any form of monasticism at Worcester until Benedictinism was brought in by Oswald in the second half of the tenth century. Conflicting as these views

are, they have been held by men who had made careful research into, and had an accurate knowledge of, Worcester documents.

With those who supported the view that the church was monastic from its earliest days were Professor (afterwards Bishop) Stubbs and his fellow editor A. W. Haddan in *Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents*, and at a later date Mr. W. H. Stevenson. Of those who opposed this view the most prominent were the late Professor C. H. Turner and the late Dr. Armitage Robinson.

That the editors of *Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents* believed the Worcester Church to have been monastic in the ninth century is shown by the fact that in rendering into Modern English an Anglo-Saxon document of the year 825 they twice use the word 'convent' where it relates to that church.<sup>1</sup>

Stubbs had an intimate knowledge of Worcester charters, and had already made his view clear in various articles upon early Worcester bishops which he wrote for the *Dictionary of Christian Biography*. Thus in his account of Mildred, writing of a grant of land made to the church of St. Peter in the year 757, he takes the opportunity of explaining that that church 'was then the Cathedral monastery of Worcester'.<sup>2</sup>

In 1911 W. H. Stevenson edited for the Historical MSS. Commission the collection of charters and other documents in the possession of Lord Middleton. That collection is of the greatest interest in its bearing upon the Church of Worcester on account of the fact that it contains some fragments of a Latin Bible written c. 700, together with others from an ancient cartulary, all of which are connected with that church. The Bible, from which these leaves came, must almost certainly have been the great Bible which Offa is said to have presented to the Church of Worcester. The cartulary fragments, which are the only ones which concern us now, formerly belonged to a Worcester cartulary which was put together in the early part of the eleventh century. These fragments consist of one complete leaf and portions of a second, and contain transcripts of eighth- and ninth-century charters, together with portions of tenth-century leases of Oswald.<sup>3</sup> When editing these Mr. Stevenson took care to preface each with a short summary. In four cases he describes

<sup>1</sup> *Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents*, iii, 604-6.

<sup>2</sup> *D.C.B.* 1882, iii, 916.

<sup>3</sup> *Report on the Manuscripts of Lord Middleton*. Four other leaves of the 'Oswald' Cartulary are to be found in B.M. Nero E. 1 (ff. 181-4). The Middleton leaf came between ff. 182 and 183. For the Bible fragments see also Turner, *Early Worcester MSS.*, Oxford, 1916, pp. xli-xlii.

grants as being made 'to the monastery at Worcester', the word *monastery* being his usual rendering of the Latin *familia*, or the Saxon *hired*. Elsewhere he renders *ad Weagornensem ecclesiam* 'to the Cathedral monastery'.<sup>1</sup> It is interesting, then, to find that as late as 1911 one who was a high authority on Worcester charters appears to have held the view that the Church of Worcester in the eighth and ninth centuries was monastic.

Five years later Mr. C. H. Turner, who had been engaged upon an examination of Worcester documents for his *Early Worcester MSS.*, arrived at other conclusions. These are set forth in the Preface to that work where, discussing genuine and spurious Worcester charters of the eighth century, he wrote:

... the church of Worcester ... in the eighth century was a church of secular priests dedicated to Saint Peter ... and it was not till the tenth century that the monks ousted their secular rivals.<sup>2</sup>

And again,

The primitive bishops of Worcester and their Cathedral body formed a single 'familia'.<sup>3</sup>

This view was accepted a few years later by Dr. Armitage Robinson in his *St. Oswald and the Church of Worcester*,<sup>4</sup> where, in summing up his researches into the early history of the Worcester Church, he states his conclusions in these words:

An examination of the Worcester Charters down to the time of Oswald has convinced me that there was no church of St. Mary, and that there was no community of monks at Worcester before the days of the great reform in the latter part of the tenth century.<sup>5</sup>

And again, on a later page:

We have thus had clearly in our view for a century and a half the constitution of the Church of Worcester—the bishop and his *familia*, a body of clergy who are joint holders with the bishop of the estates of the church. There is but one church of Worcester (St. Peter's) and but one *familia*. And there is no hint anywhere of monasticism.<sup>6</sup>

The investigations which led Dr. Armitage Robinson to endorse Professor Turner's views appear to have been undertaken primarily to show that no church of St. Mary existed in Worcester prior to that built by Oswald, and that the many earlier references to one found in Worcester charters were contained in documents

<sup>1</sup> *Middleton Charters*, Hist. MSS. Commission 1911, Charters IV–VII, pp. 203–7.

<sup>2</sup> *Early Worcester MSS.*, O.U.P., 1916, p. xl.

<sup>4</sup> British Academy, *Supplemental Papers*, 1919.

<sup>5</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 7.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. xxviii.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.* p. 10.

which must be regarded as spurious, or at any rate as untrustworthy in the form in which they have come down to us. To prove his case Dr. Robinson subjected to critical diplomatic examination certain charters, thirteen in all, ranging between about A.D. 720 and 930, all of which related to gifts to a church of St. Mary sometimes described as a monastery. The results of his examination were set out in his *St. Oswald and the Church of Worcester*, and go to show that all thirteen charters must be rejected as not being genuine in their present form. These conclusions have not been challenged and they may therefore be looked upon as established. Dr. Armitage Robinson did not notice—nor indeed does the fact seem to have been noticed by others—that at the end of the eleventh century the Worcester monks of that time were themselves under the impression that there had been monks in Worcester and a monastery dedicated to St. Mary as far back as the eighth century. This view is brought out in a passage in the cartulary compiled by the Worcester monk Hemming about the year 1100. Writing of lands which at one time were in the jurisdiction of the monastery but afterwards for various reasons passed out of its possession, he cites the case of certain villis in Oxfordshire (Heythrop and Kidlington), which, he says, King Offa (755–794)

with royal munificence gave to God and St. Mary for the uses of the servants of God (i.e. the monks) who strove to serve God in this monastery . . . (*ad usum seruorum Dei qui in hoc monasterio Deo servire studuerint* . . .).

And he adds the statement that the lands were afterwards seized by the Danes, when they invaded this country.<sup>1</sup>

Hemming does not include any document in support of his statement, nor is there any further reference to these Oxfordshire villis in his cartulary. Whether he is relying upon tradition or is quoting from a lost charter seems hardly to matter. What is remarkable is the easy and natural way in which this reference to a monastery and monks in the eighth century slips into Hemming's narrative.

It comes as a relief to know that the good faith of one whose cartulary bears so high a reputation cannot be challenged, and to realize that in transcribing charters which have since been shown to be spurious Hemming must have been entirely unaware that they were not genuine. Dr. Robinson seems to have missed some other evidence which appears to point to an old church of St. Mary which was still standing in Oswald's time. In three

<sup>1</sup> Hemming, *Cartulary*, p. 280. It is certain that Hemming uses the words *seruus dei* only in the sense of a monk.



of that bishop's leases there are references to an 'ancient' church of that name.

Thus in leases of 980 and 988 we read of land which was ultimately to revert to Worcester monastery:

... let it be restored to the ancient mother basilica of St. Mary, Mother of God ... (*reddatur antique matri sancte Marie Dei genetrice [sic] basilice* ...).<sup>1</sup>

And again in 982:

... let it be restored unharmed to the primitive church of the holy Mother of God ... (*pristine sancte Dei genetricis ecclesie immunis restitatur* ...).<sup>2</sup>

The passage in Hemming relating to lands in Oxfordshire and his use of the words *antique* and *pristine* in these leases appear to conflict with Dr. Robinson's conclusions and they must evidently have escaped his notice. It will be well that the difficulties which they present should be met, as we may be sure that he would have met them.

We may do so by arguing that if Hemming, when writing about these Oxfordshire villis which Offa is said to have left to the church of St. Mary for the support of the monks, is basing his statement upon a charter, it is in the highest degree unlikely that such a charter can have been genuine. For any charter of so early a date which professes to make provision for the 'sustenance' or 'uses' of monks must be open to doubt; indeed it is doubtful whether any tenth-century bequest made in these terms could be shown to be genuine. As to the appearance in the leases of the words *antique* and *pristine* in describing the church of St. Mary in the years 980, 982, and 988, we must hold that this can only be due to an error on the part of the scribe. Elsewhere, as, for example, in charters of 1016 and 1017, we have such a clause as 'sanctae matri Wigornensi reddatur ecclesiae'. We must remember that in transcribing legal documents it is quite easy to make mistakes of this kind. That they are mere slips of the pen is shown by the fact that in 980 and 982 the church which they describe was then being built.<sup>3</sup>

While Dr. Armitage Robinson's investigations must be regarded as having completely established Professor Turner's view that the Church of Worcester in the eighth century was a church of secular priests, it must be admitted that the general trend of the evidence appeared for a long time to point to an opposite conclusion. For though the language of the early charters

<sup>1</sup> Hemming, pp. 210, 199 (genetrici).

<sup>2</sup> Hemming, p. 239.

<sup>3</sup> The 'Oswald' cartulary version of the 982 lease reads *usui monastico in Wigorcestre restitatur* in the passage referred to.

does not offer definite evidence of a monastic church, it cannot be said that there is anything in the phraseology of these charters which is inconsistent with a monastery. On the other hand, there are many passages in charters of undoubted authenticity which seem to point to the existence of a monastic house and monks, long before the Benedictines were established by Oswald in the tenth century.

And there is the curious fact that from the eighth to the twelfth centuries the phrase 'the bishop and his *familia*' appears in almost unbroken use. Alike in early and in late charters, whether in documents which must now be regarded as pre-monastic, or—where one would have expected a change—in the monastic charters of Oswald and the later Benedictine bishops, these words are used in Worcester documents.

It is bewildering to find Bishop Lyfing in 1042 describing his monastic community in almost the same words which Wilfrith uses of his *familia* of secular priests, a hundred and fifty years before.

It was not unnatural, therefore, that the Latin *familia* and its A.-S. equivalent *hired* had been taken to mean the conventual family. We can sympathize with earlier investigators who were misled in their interpretation of early charters, and who in all likelihood never so much as suspected that the word could be used of monks and seculars alike.<sup>1</sup>

The problem is complicated, too, by the fact that we have little information which can be said to be reliable, either about the early state of the church in Worcester, or as to the nature of the changes effected by Oswald. Still less can we learn of the manner in which the latter were carried out. There is very little contemporary tenth-century evidence, and the few works that have come down to us (as, for example, the *Life of Oswald*,

<sup>1</sup> Examples of this continuity of description may be seen in the following Latin charters, A.D. 855 (H. 436), 872 (H. 229), 969 (H. 132), 996 (H. 190-1).

The phrase appears with the same persistence in A.-S. documents throughout these three centuries, where the Latin *familia* is rendered by the word *hired* in one of its many forms.

Thus we find:

743-745 Milrede . . . 7 his þæm halegan hirede . . . (where the words *halegan hirede* are a form of the Latin *sancta familia* of contemporary charters) (Earle, *Land Charters*, pp. 41-2).

991. Oswald . . . 7 þæs arwurden hireses (H. 195, 21, 13-15, Add. Ch. 19799).

It is used too in Worcester documents as early as the ninth century of communities definitely monastic, e.g. of Bredon. 841 . . . *donabo Eanmundo venerabili abbati et ejus familie* (H. 458).

written at the beginning of the eleventh century), provide but scanty facts. Moreover, eleventh- and twelfth-century writers show themselves on the whole bad antiquaries, colouring their accounts of tenth-century events with the views of a later age. It would be unwise, therefore, to accept the accounts which they gave of the changes which took place in that period, for these writers are so carried away by their zeal for the reformed Benedictinism as to allow it to colour their description of the past. Indeed, they sometimes go so far as to make the statement that monastic life did not exist in England before the tenth century.

It will be well, then, to examine Worcester charters to see what there is in them which may throw light upon the problem with which we are concerned. At the outset of the inquiry we may notice that from its earliest years Worcester had been associated with monasteries and monasticism. From the time of the foundation of the See in or about 680, and during and after its occupation by the bishops who had received their training in Hilda's monastery at Whitby, the diocese seems to have been evangelized by the planting of monastery after monastery, and these monasteries seem often to connect vaguely with the Mother Church.<sup>1</sup>

The earliest charter belongs to 680, and is concerned with a grant of land for the purpose of establishing a monastery at Ripple. The grant was made by Oshere, King of the Hwicci, to Frithowald, 'in order that he might there follow the rule of monastic life' (*quatenus ibidem ecclesiastice conversationis normam . . . exerceat*).

A monastery at Fladbury followed about 691, and within about the first hundred years of the existence of the diocese the endowment and establishment of rather more than a dozen monasteries are recorded. For the foundation of Fladbury monastery Æthelred of Mercia granted land to Ostfor, third bishop of Worcester, 'in order that, as it had first been handed down once more through his (the bishop's) diligence the virtuous conversation of monks living under an abbot might be revived in that land' (*ut quemadmodum primitus tradita fuerat, rursus per illius diligentiam Monachorum in ea (terra) sub Abbate degentium honestissima conversatio recuperetur*).<sup>2</sup>

About thirty years later (718) Daylesford was founded by Æthilbald of Mercia, who granted land to Begia, 'the servant of God, in order that there might be built thereon a monastery which

<sup>1</sup> Their abbots are often described as *alumni* of the Worcester Church.

<sup>2</sup> Smith's *Baeda*, p. 764 (from the original then in the hands of Lord Somers). See also Hemming, pp. 21-2.

should become a dwelling-place for the servants of God' (*ut in ea monasterium construeretur et seruorum Dei habitaculum fieret*).<sup>1</sup>

This use of the phrase *seruus dei* is to be noticed. It occurs with considerable frequency in Worcester documents, and appears to carry with it the implication of 'monk'. Bede uses the phrase in this sense in the passage describing Augustine's coming to England, where he writes:

[Gregory] sent Augustine, a monk, and several other monks with him (*misit seruum dei Augustinum et alios plures cum eo monachos*).<sup>2</sup>

If the phrase would always bear this exclusive meaning it would become, as will be seen, of importance in the interpretation of Worcester charters.

The earliest charter relating to the Church of Worcester itself takes the form of a grant of land at Henbury in Gloucestershire, made about 692,<sup>3</sup> by Æthelred of Mercia to Bishop Ostfor 'for the church of the blessed Peter, prince of the Apostles, which is situated in Worcester city'. This is the first mention of the Cathedral. The dedication to St. Peter seems to show northern influence.

From that time the endowments of the Worcester Church were vested in grants of land made either to the bishop, or the Church of Worcester, or to the bishop and Church of Worcester, or, again, to the bishop and *familia* in Worcester.

As early as 691 reference is made to the 'Congregatio', or body of clergy acting with the bishop.<sup>4</sup>

The first use in Worcester documents of the word *familia*, a word of great importance as we have seen in their interpretation, occurs in a grant of land made by Æthilbald in 716 at the request of the holy Society (*rogatus a sancta familia*) of Christ dwelling in Worcester.<sup>5</sup> The same phrase in its Anglo-Saxon form (*hālegan hirede*) is found in a charter of c. 743.<sup>6</sup>

An interesting glimpse of the life of the cathedral in the eighth century is afforded by a grant of land made in the year 757 by three brothers, Eanberht, Uhtred, and Aldred, all of them rulers of the Hwicci. The brothers granted land at Tredington by the Stour 'to the venerable Bishop Mildred, to the episcopal See, and to the church of the most blessed

<sup>1</sup> Hemming, p. 68. A few years later Bishop Egwin laid down the condition that the rule of monastic life should always be observed there (*ut semper ibi cenobialis uite statuta seruentur*). *Middleton Charters*, p. 201.

<sup>2</sup> Bede, *Hist. eccl.* I, xxiii.

<sup>3</sup> Hickes, *Thesaurus*, 169.

<sup>4</sup> Hemming, p. 384.

<sup>5</sup> Hemming, p. 442.

<sup>6</sup> Earle, *Land Charters*, p. 41. Said by Earle to be 'our earliest example of a genuine charter wholly in Saxon' (but thought spurious by Stevenson).

prince of the Apostles, Saint Peter, where the bodies of our parents lie', asking as a recompense that during their lives and after their death prayers and solemn celebrations of masses should be offered up for them by day and by night by the Church of Worcester.<sup>1</sup>

Another eighth-century charter, one granted by Bishop Mildred in the year 774,<sup>2</sup> is of special interest to us as affording another example of the use of the phrase *servorum dei*. It relates to a monastery at Withington in Gloucestershire, which had been ruled by abbesses, and had fallen in to the Church of Worcester by the terms of a clause often found in charters of early Hwiccan monasteries. The passage in which these words occur is of sufficient interest to justify quoting it in its entirety. The bishop is granting the monastery to the abbess Æthelburga:

Now therefore, with the consent of the servants of God who under God's providence are placed under my rule (*cum licentia servorum dei qui sub meo regimine dei providentia constituuntur*), I (Mildred) freely hand over the land to the worthy abbess Æthelburga, daughter of Ælfred, on the understanding, however, that . . . it shall return to the church of the blessed Peter, prince of the Apostles, which is situated in Worcester city, where, too, the pontifical chair of the Hwicci is established.

The words 'with the consent of the servants of God who . . . are under my rule' have a decidedly monastic ring, and, remembering that Mildred was a close friend of St. Boniface,<sup>3</sup> we are tempted to wonder whether, like that great English apostle, the Worcester bishop also had received monastic training, especially in view of the fact that his successors, Tilhere and Æthelhune, are known to have been abbots; and if so, whether the Church of Worcester itself was at this time monastic. In the absence of other evidence of a corroborative nature, however, it would be unwise to press the possible implications of *servus dei* too far.

In a later charter, dated 781, Bishop Hathored 'and the whole Society (*omnis congregatio*) in Worcester' are associated in a gift of land, and in another of the same year we find the bishop granting land 'with the consent and advice of my whole Society'

<sup>1</sup> Hemming, pp. 36-9; Nero E. 1, f. 389.

<sup>2</sup> Hemming, pp. 466-7; Earle, *Land Charters*, pp. 52-3.

<sup>3</sup> There is still extant an interesting letter from Mildred to Lul, an English bishop in Germany, written after the death of St. Boniface whom the Worcester bishop had visited a little time before. It may be read in an English translation in *The English Correspondence of Saint Boniface* (London, 1911), pp. 206-9. In this letter Mildred describes himself as *servus servorum dei*, a form of description generally associated with Papal use, but used also by other English bishops in the eighth century. We find it used by Bishop Wulstan as late as 1089.

(*cum consensu et consilio totius familiae meae*). A charter of Bishop Deneberht, which I take to belong to the year 798, modifies the phrase to *cum consensu et testimonio totius venerabilis familiae in Uuegerna civitate*, and it is interesting to note that two hundred years later Adulf, Oswald's successor, uses a phrase which is almost identical in describing a community which was definitely monastic.<sup>1</sup>

This charter of 798 relates to Balthun, a priest, who is described as an *alumnus* of the Worcester Church. Balthun afterwards became abbot of Kempsey. We get from Deneberht's charter our first list of the Worcester *familia*, which at that time consisted of nine priests, four deacons, two clerks, and three others who are not described.<sup>2</sup> A charter of the same year shows us yet another Worcester *alumnus*, Headda, who afterwards became an abbot.<sup>3</sup>

There are about a dozen charters which give lists of the *familia* in the ninth century. In two we find a *praepositus* named; and in 904 'Cynelm abbas et diaconus', who is probably the abbot of Evesham of that name, heads the list. After this year there is a break in our information until we come to the time of Bishop Coenwald (929-57).

Going back to our examination of early charters we find one of 803,<sup>4</sup> which gives the names of the clergy from Worcester diocese who were present in that year at the Synod of Clovesho. They were

Deneberht, Wegeranensis civitatis episcopus. Hyseberht abbas. Thingferth abbas. Paega abbas. Freothomund abbas. Coenferth presbiter. Seleræd presbiter.

Of these only Bishop Deneberht and Thingferth, abbot of Evesham, have so far been identified.

A charter of 814 is another of those which appear to have some bearing upon the nature of the *familia* at that time. In it Coenwulf of Mercia freely remits 'to bishop Deneberht and his *familia* the *pastus* (maintenance) of the twelve men rightly pertaining to that city, and to other monasteries set under his rule' (*Ego Coenulf . . . meo fideli . . . episcopo Deneberhto, atque ejus familie, que sita est in Weogernensi civitate, illorum xij hominum pastum, qui rite ad illam civitatem pertinent, et ad alia que sub ejus sunt potestate monasteria constituta, liberaliter perenne concedo*).<sup>5</sup>

Here the words *et alia . . . monasteria* seem to have some

<sup>1</sup> Hemming, pp. 88-90.

<sup>2</sup> This is early for an allusion to clerks.

<sup>3</sup> H. 54-6.

<sup>4</sup> *Eccles. Councils*, iii, 545-8; K.C.D. 1024.

<sup>5</sup> Hemming, pp. 23-4. *Middleton Charters*, pp. 204-6.



significance. But we have always to remember that the word *monasterium* was from time to time used of a secular church; for example, we find the cathedral of Hereford sometimes described in this way.

The following passage from a charter of 866, in which Burhred, king of the Mercians, grants land at Wolverley 'to the brethren fighting for God in Worcester monastery', again makes us open our eyes, and at last seems to offer definite proof that the early Worcester Church was monastic. It opens,

Ego Burhredus . . . concedens dono aliquam partem agri regni mei  
. . . fratribus Deo militantibus in Wigornensi monasterio . . .

and ends with the words:

Scripta est et corroborata hec cartula, sub astipulatione testium idoneorum, in eodem monasterio degentium, quorum onomata infra crucis Dominice signo prenotantur.<sup>1</sup>

Dr. Armitage Robinson makes no comment upon this charter. Nor does it appear to have been challenged by others. Nevertheless, a close examination leads one to suspect its genuineness and to hazard the guess that it is a spurious document based upon another of Burhred's charters, dated in the same year and concerned with the same land<sup>2</sup> which is undoubtedly authentic. If we compare the one with the other we notice in the suspected document what looks like the language of a later period, and a modernized spelling of the names of the witnesses. Moreover, there is a clumsy mistake in placing Boldred, who is described in the authentic charter as an abbot, amongst the *ministri*. Then, again, there are the very unusual words *fratribus Deo militantibus in Wigornensi monasterio*.

But the strongest confirmation of our doubt lies in the final paragraph. Nowhere else in Worcester documents do we find such a clause except in a lease of Bishop Oswald's<sup>3</sup> bearing date 987 where is one in which the wording is identical, except for the substitution of *clerorum illustrium* for *testium idoneorum*. The charter must, therefore, be placed with others which appear to have been fabricated in the early part of the eleventh century.

Towards the end of the ninth century appears the famous charter granted by Æthelred the alderman and Æthelfled, Lady of the Mercians, at the request of Bishop Werfrith. In its bearing upon the history of the city it is one of the most important of Worcester charters, and is of great interest, too, as giving some little insight into the nature of the services held in the old cathedral of St. Peter. It is too long to be included here,

<sup>1</sup> Hemming, p. 410.

<sup>2</sup> Smith's *Baeda*, p. 770.

<sup>3</sup> Hemming, p. 166.

but may be found, with a modern English version, in *English Historical Documents* (F. E. Harmer), pp. 54-5.

An undated charter of Werfrith<sup>1</sup> offers an example of the sort of difficulty which is sometimes encountered in trying to discover from the language of a document whether it relates to a secular or to a monastic establishment. In this instance Werfrith records a grant which he makes 'with the leave of all this family at Worcester, both young and old'—

Mid alles ðæs heorodes leafe on Weogorna ceastre ge funges ge aldes.  
A hundred years or so later Oswald in a lease uses almost identical language—

991. Oswald . . . mid geþafunge 7 leafe þæs arwyrðan hiredes on wigorna ceastre ge junges ge aldes.<sup>2</sup>

And fifty years later still Lyfing—

1042. Lyfing . . . mid þafunge 7 leafe . . . þæs arwurþan hiredes æt Wigornaceastre ge junges ge aldes.<sup>3</sup>

But Werfrith is writing of secular priests: Oswald and Lyfing of monks.

A charter of the year 897 deals with the relations between the Worcester *familia* and that of Winchcombe monastery (which had been founded about the beginning of the century). These had become strained, and one of the objects of the charter was to allay the discord between the two houses, and to bring about the renewal of the happy relations which had formerly existed between them (*pro renovatione et reconciliatione pacis inter illam familiam que est in Uueogernensi ciuitate et illam que est in Uuincelcumbe et sedatione discordie et convitiarum quas inter se habuerunt*).<sup>4</sup>

Here, again, we notice the same word *familia* used of seculars and monks alike.

The last references to the Church of Worcester prior to the establishment of the Benedictine Rule are contained in charters for the years 956 and 957. In each of them the church is described by the word *monasterium*.

That dated 956 is a grant made to the monastery by King Eadwi, at the request of his minister Brithnoth.

Eadwi rex . . . dat precibus . . . Brihtnothi monasterio Wigornensi quinque cassatos ad fepsetnatune (Phepson).<sup>5</sup>

The other is found in a curiously-worded charter which has to do with land at Grimley which Bishop Coenwald (929-57)

<sup>1</sup> Smith's *Baeda*, pp. 771-2.

<sup>3</sup> Add. Ch. 19799 (Earle, p. 242).

<sup>5</sup> Hemming, pp. 333-4.

<sup>2</sup> Hemming, p. 195.

<sup>4</sup> Hemming, pp. 29-30.

grants 'with the consent of the brethren . . . to Behstan, a presbyter of the same monastery' (*cum consensu fraterno . . . Behstano ejusdem monasterii presbitero*).<sup>1</sup>

In both cases the word *monasterium* can mean nothing more than 'church'. But Bishop Coenwald's use of it in this sense is strange, for he was himself a monk and had headed the remarkable mission sent by King Athelstan to the German monasteries in 929.

We have now come to the time of St. Dunstan and St. Oswald. Dunstan held the See of Worcester from 957 to 960, joining London to it in 960. No charter of his relating to Worcester has come down to us. Of his work in Worcester there is no contemporary evidence. Indeed, we have to wait for the early years of the twelfth century for any account of Dunstan's activities as bishop of Worcester. Eadmer, from whom we get it, wrote a Life of that bishop some time before 1109.<sup>2</sup> He seems to have derived what information he had from Ægelric, a monk of Worcester whom he had known in earlier years at Canterbury. This friend, who is probably to be identified with Nicholas, prior in 1113, must, in turn, have fallen back upon such recollections of Worcester traditions as he had gathered from Bishop Wulstan. However this may be, Eadmer's account of Dunstan's activities in Worcester is given in such general terms as to suggest that the writer had very few facts before him. He has to content himself with a vague picture in which he describes the bishop as working strenuously yet with sympathy, to combat evil in his diocese;

going up and down, accusing, warning, and punishing; reforming everywhere, allowing nothing wrong to pass uncorrected; showing favour to none, dealing justly with all men.<sup>3</sup>

When we come to Oswald's episcopate there is much more material on which to draw. Considerable evidence of a kind is found in the long series of leases granted by that bishop which are transcribed in Hemming's cartulary. The series covers practically the whole of Oswald's episcopate. But, as we should expect, these leases afford but restricted information and little help to us in trying to trace the way in which the change to Benedictinism was made. Indeed, they can hardly be said to show anywhere the slightest indications of the vast upheaval which must have attended in 969, or thereabouts, the replacement of the secular by the monastic system. Oswald came to Worcester in 960. In the long series of leases in the period from 962 to 969 the only

<sup>1</sup> Hemming, pp. 164-5. The charter is wrongly dated 954.

<sup>2</sup> *Memorials of Dunstan*, introd. xxxiv.

<sup>3</sup> *Memorials of Dunstan*, p. 195.

manifestations of change are a gradual increase in the number of priests who attest the charters, and, perhaps, the occasional use of the word *monasterium* in a sense which leaves no doubt in the mind. But the changes are so slight and amount to so little that were it not for the specific declaration of the Synod of 1092 that Oswald changed the Society of Worcester Church 'from the irregular life of clerks to the regular life and habit of monks' we should be disposed to conclude that the only reform effected by that bishop was a change from one form of monasticism to another; that is, from such a type as existed at Glastonbury before the reforms introduced by Dunstan to that stricter form of the Rule in which Oswald himself had been trained at Fleury.

Apart from the scanty information which the leases yield, the only other contemporary evidence for the events of Oswald's episcopate is to be found in an anonymous 'Life' of that bishop written by a monk of Ramsey. In recent years the writer has been identified as Byrhtferth, a man of great learning, of whom some account is given by Stubbs in his *Memorials of Dunstan*.<sup>1</sup> Byrhtferth's 'Life of Oswald' was written between 1000 and 1005, that is, about ten years after the death of that bishop.<sup>2</sup> Unfortunately, the work does not yield much information about Worcester, nor do we learn much about the changes effected by Oswald, for as a monk of Ramsey the writer is mainly concerned with the affairs of his own monastery. But, little as there is, we are grateful for such glimpses of Worcester life as are contained in a chapter which tells how Oswald, the prelate of Christ, when chosen to government sought to gather together monks, and of the way in which he established them. We learn that after Oswald had gone to Fleury to receive his training as a monk he was followed to that monastery by a Winchester youth named Germanus. Desiring also to enter into monastic life Germanus made diligent study of the Rule and in due time received the habit of a monk, imbibing like Oswald the traditions of Fleury.

After the latter had come to Worcester as bishop, he sent for Germanus and set him to instruct disciples in the monastic life. As the fame of Germanus's pupils spread throughout the province, many faithful clerks came under him and received from him a monastic training. In a short time the little company had exceeded the sacred number of the Apostolate, without taking into account the children whom they instructed. Oswald established the little band at Westbury-on-Trym, where they

<sup>1</sup> See S. J. Crawford, 'Speculum religionis' in *Essays and Studies presented to G. G. Montefiore*, pp. 99-111.

<sup>2</sup> For this 'Life' see *Historians of York* (R.S.), i, 399.

became examples of the true monastic life, the bishop taking care to supply their everyday needs and so freeing their minds for spiritual contemplation and turning their thoughts to the Divine Offices. This state of things lasted about four years.<sup>1</sup> Eventually Germanus became prior of the monastery, and Westbury was destined to serve as the cradle for Ramsey, and indeed for all the monasteries, other than the Cathedral, which Oswald was to found throughout his diocese.

Continuing his account of Oswald's activities as bishop, and of the part he played in establishing monasteries, Byrhtferth records that by the authority of the king there were set up in the province of the Hwiccas seven monasteries which were under Oswald's rule.<sup>2</sup>

The writer does not name these monasteries; indeed after Westbury the only others to which he refers as being of Oswald's foundation are Worcester and Winchcombe. But we can be sure of six out of the seven, namely, the Cathedral monastery, the abbeys of Evesham, Pershore, Deerhurst, and Winchcombe, and the priory of Westbury.

About the seventh there is doubt. Bath has been suggested, but there are good reasons why Bath cannot have been one of the seven. It seems certain that the town was not at that time in Mercia, but had passed in the time of King Edred (946-55), or even earlier, to Wessex.<sup>3</sup> The history of Bath monastery shows that the Benedictine Rule had already been established in 963. It is unlikely therefore that Oswald, who had only come to Worcester in 960, could in this short space of time have effected so great a reform in a monastery situated in the most distant part of his diocese. It is more probable that it was remodelled by Æthelwold, who was much nearer at hand, and was then closely associated with Edgar in re-establishing monasteries. That Oswald had no part in the changes at Bath seems to be indicated, too, by the fact that the monastery retained its original dedication to St. Peter while all the newly organized Hwiccan monasteries received a dedication to the Blessed Virgin. If we shut out Bath as a possibility, as apparently we must, the only remaining suggestion for the seventh monastery set up in Oswald's diocese is Tewkesbury. There is nothing

<sup>1</sup> *Historians of York*, i, 424.

<sup>2</sup> 'Sunt denique in provincia Merciorum quae Wicisca (?) dicitur septem monasteria constructa quae sub regimine tanti pontificis stabant constitutis a rege patribus' (*Hist. of York*, R.S., i, 439).

<sup>3</sup> A recent writer states that Bath passed from Mercia to Wessex in the time of Alfred (Symons, *The Grammar School of K. Edward VI, Bath*, pp. 29-39).

in the known history of that monastery which would give much support to such a conjecture, but on the other hand its early beginnings are so obscure that it would be unwise to rule it out.

The story of Deerhurst, like that of Tewkesbury, is difficult to read. But it has been pointed out by an able writer<sup>1</sup> that to some extent it is possible to throw some light upon its history by piecing together isolated facts which may be made to connect with it. Thus, remembering that we are told in the 'Life of St. Alphege' (Ælfheah) that the bishop received his training as a monk at Deerhurst, we are able to connect Ælfheah of Deerhurst with an abbot Ælfheah who is referred to by the writer of the anonymous 'Life of Oswald' as a friend of Foldbriht, the first abbot of Pershore. In an account of a miraculous event which took place at the close of Foldbriht's life this writer tells us that when that abbot lay dying he sent for Germanus, who was at that time abbot of Winchcombe, after having served as prior at Westbury and Ramsey. It was at Winchcombe that Foldbriht's messenger sought Germanus, and we are told that after receiving his call the latter in turn sent for another trusted friend of the dying man, the abbot Ælfheah. When they had met, the two abbots made their way to Pershore, and receiving from Foldbriht the customary confession, administered to him the last rites.<sup>2</sup> The story suggests that all three abbots were neighbours, and this accords well with the position of Pershore, Deerhurst, and Winchcombe, places lying comparatively near to each other. We shall probably be right then in identifying the abbot Ælfheah of the story with the martyred archbishop of that name who is known to have received his monastic training at Deerhurst. The monasteries at Pershore and Deerhurst were destroyed about 975 on the death of King Edgar. The story of Foldbriht's death must therefore be placed in or about this year.

All seven monasteries have passed away, and of the churches built by Oswald only Deerhurst now stands. One of the most remarkable of the Saxon churches now remaining in England, it has associations which must ever make it hallowed ground to every one who looks back with any degree of reverence upon the history of the Church in Worcestershire. Its very walls still link us with the great Benedictine movement of the tenth century. Built in the second half of that century, much of the church remains to-day exactly as it was in Oswald's time. In the Choir we may yet stand upon ground which was trodden by St. Alphege

<sup>1</sup> See various contributions by the Rev. C. S. Taylor in *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Arch. Soc.*, amongst others, vol. xviii, pp. 125, 128.

<sup>2</sup> *Hist. of York*, i, 439.



as a young priest and abbot, some forty years before his martyrdom: on ground, too, where St. Oswald must often have stood when he came to visit the little community of monks which he had established there.

The early years of Oswald's episcopate seem to have been marked by great activity. Within a few years of his coming to Worcester, probably by 964 at the latest, he had established a monastic community at Westbury-on-Trym. With this as a cradle his work in establishing monasteries moved rapidly. By 969, if we accept the chronology of the Synod of 1092, the Cathedral monastery was already formed. And there is no reason why we should not accept that date. It has the support of Wulstan's authority and it would be quite in keeping with Oswald's ways and with his solicitude for his monasteries in their beginnings if at first he retained the rule of the newly formed Worcester house entirely in his own hands, acting for the time as its abbot, and only later—possibly in 972, on his succession to the archbishopric of York—bringing in as prior Winsy, whom he had had trained in Ramsey, a monastery of his own foundation.

By 970 Evesham, Pershore, and Deerhurst appear to have been already organized under their respective abbots, Osweard, Foldbriht, and Ælfheah<sup>1</sup> though the first-named monastery does not appear to owe its reorganization to Oswald. About the same time, or at any rate before 972, Winchcombe monastery had been reorganized and re-established.<sup>2</sup>

Two documents which purport to be the foundation charters of Worcester and Pershore, each dated 972,<sup>3</sup> are witnessed by the four abbots of the diocese, namely Foldbriht of Pershore, Ælfheah of Deerhurst, Osweard of Evesham, and Germanus of Winchcombe (Westbury and Worcester being priories). After 975 all four names completely disappear from charters. Foldbriht, as we have seen, died about this time, and the absence of the other names is accounted for by the fact that abbots Ælfheah, Osweard, and Germanus, together with their com-

<sup>1</sup> In the Ramsey foundation charter of 974 (B.C.S. 1310) the three abbots attest together.

<sup>2</sup> Or perhaps by 966, if we can trust an entry in a later hand in the *Winchcombe Annals* (Tiberius A iv) which records under this year that Germanus was then made abbot by Oswald. But the earliest appearance of Germanus in charters is in 972.

<sup>3</sup> B.C.S. 1282 and 1284. The Worcester charter has not come down in a complete form; except for the enumeration of properties, it is practically identical with that of Pershore. Both are starred as of doubtful authority by Kemble, but the Pershore charter was accepted by Bond and is printed without comment in his *B.M. Facsimiles*, iii, 30.

munities at Deerhurst, Evesham, and Winchcombe, had been driven out by Ælfhere, the alderman, shortly after the death of King Edgar.

When Ælfhere ruthlessly dispossessed the monks, filling their places with seculars, Oswald seems to have been powerless to interfere, and monasticism in Worcestershire received a check from which it never recovered in the lifetime of that bishop. It is difficult to understand why Ælfhere's work of destruction was so readily acquiesced in, but it is likely that the new monasteries were at first far from popular. It may be that they bore traces of foreign influences which were distasteful to English laymen. Moreover the system was new and had not yet proved itself. In 983 when Ælfhere lay dying he made a late repentance and sought to re-establish Evesham, sending for Freodegar who, like Foldbriht of Pershore, had been one of Æthelwold's disciples. But though a start was made, the new establishment did not long hold together, for Freodegar was not strong enough to stand up against the seculars, and the century had almost closed before the Benedictines were again established at Evesham.

Winchcombe appears to have had a happier fate. Its monastic life was restarted by Germanus, and the abbey apparently made a good recovery before Oswald died. Pershore, however, lay crushed, and some forty years or thereabouts were to pass before, perhaps at the command of Cnut, the abbey was restored and its community re-established. Deerhurst never again recovered its position as an abbey, sinking in after years to the level of an alien priory.

It will be interesting to consider what share Oswald took in the establishment of Benedictinism in the diocese. Byrhtferth, in his 'Life' of that bishop, refers only as we have seen to Worcester, Westbury, and Winchcombe, as monasteries of Oswald's foundation. Of Worcester and Winchcombe he writes: 'Oswald built two monasteries, that is to say, one in the city in which he ruled as bishop, the other in Winchcombe. Over the latter he set Germanus, the prior of Ramsey.'<sup>1</sup> He tells us nothing of Deerhurst, Evesham, or Pershore. But we know that Deerhurst was built in the second half of the tenth century, and we may look upon it as almost certainly Oswald's work. That Pershore also was re-established by Oswald we know from Florence,<sup>2</sup> but according to William of Malmesbury, Ægelward, earl of Dorset, who founded the monastery of Cerne about the same time, had some hand in the rebuilding.

<sup>1</sup> *Hist. of York*, i, 435.

<sup>2</sup> *Chronicle*, i, 189; *Worc. Ann.* iv, 369 (where the date given is inaccurate).

For reasons which are not clear, Oswald seems to have entrusted the reconstitution of Evesham to Æthelwold. At all events the Evesham *Chronicle* states that the monastery was reformed by Æthelwold, and that the latter placed Oswearð at its head. The same great abbot had trained Foldbriht, the first abbot of Pershore, who had been one of his disciples at Glastonbury and had accompanied him to Abingdon.<sup>1</sup> With Oswearð at Evesham and Foldbriht at Pershore, Glastonbury traditions were well represented, and the English Benedictinism of Dunstan must to some extent have balanced anything that was alien in the Fleury traditions brought in by Oswald.

With Byrhtferth's 'Life' and the information we draw from the leases the contemporary evidence for Oswald ceases, and we have to wait some ninety years for any further contribution to our knowledge of the cathedral life of his day.

This we get in a declaration made by Bishop Wulstan of the findings of a synod convened by him in 1092 to inquire into certain differences which had arisen between the priests of two Worcester churches. The synod was held in the cathedral, and with a view to settling the quarrel the bishop appointed what was virtually a small subcommittee of his clergy to examine the questions raised, and to search the archives of the cathedral for anything which might bear upon them. In due course they reported to the bishop, and what they had to say about the constitution of the cathedral in the tenth century is of great interest. They declared that

the blessed Oswald the archbishop . . . changed the Society of this church from the irregular life of clerks to the regular life and the habit of monks, in the year of our Lord's Incarnation 969.<sup>2</sup>

Here at last we have evidence of the most definite kind of the nature of the changes wrought by Oswald.

Elsewhere Hemming too has something to tell us about life in Oswald's day, and gives us a picture so vivid that we might well wish that he had drawn oftener upon what, no doubt, must reflect the fascinating conversation and recollections of his friend and master, Bishop Wulstan. Writing of land which had been given to the old church of St. Peter in the time of Offa by a certain Wiferth and his wife Alta,<sup>3</sup> he tells us that

after their death [that is after the death of Wiferth and Alta] a stone structure bearing a cross was erected over their grave and in their

<sup>1</sup> Life of Æthelwold in Abingdon *Chronicle* (R.S.), pp. 257-8.

<sup>2</sup> For synod of 1092 see *Anglia Sacra*, i, 542-3.

<sup>3</sup> Hemming, pp. 341-2, and Worcester Cath. MS. Register I (quoted in Hemming, p. 515).

memory. By this cross, on account of the level space, Oswald often used to preach to the people; because the church of the episcopal seat, which was dedicated in honour of St. Peter, was very small, and could not contain the multitude that assembled, and that noble monastery of St. Mary, which he commenced for the episcopal seat and worthily brought to completion, had not as yet been built. This stone structure remained till the time of King Edward [the Confessor], when Alric,<sup>1</sup> the brother of Bishop Beorhtheah (1033-8), desiring to enlarge the presbytery of St. Peter's, pulled it down and used the materials for his building.<sup>2</sup>

Here we have eloquent testimony to the power of Oswald's preaching, and adequate reasons for the building of the new church of St. Mary in the growing congregations which in the end overflowed the accommodation available in the old church of St. Peter.

It is interesting to note from this passage that Oswald spared the old cathedral of St. Peter. Indeed, it was still in existence in the days of Wulstan, who, as we learn from Colman's *Life* of that bishop, would often go by night to pray within its walls. This would be about 1050.

Hemming has something to tell us, too, of another stone cross in another part of the city, and continues:

To the north of this stone at a distance of a mile was a similar stone structure called the White Stone, placed outside the city. This was destroyed in the time of William the Elder [William I], and the materials were used for making a Lavatory for the monks.<sup>3</sup>

This is evidently a reference to what we now know as Whitstones in the Tything.

The next account of Oswald's work in Worcester is given by Eadmer in his 'Life of Dunstan', which, as we have seen, was written before 1109, and probably reflects Worcester tradition as handed down by St. Wulstan.

When Oswald came to Worcester, Eadmer tells us, the episcopal chair was then consecrated to St. Peter. Because he found himself unable to turn the clerks from their irregular life (*pravitate*), and could not turn them adrift, owing to their being powerful and of noble birth, the bishop built a church for the blessed Mary, almost adjoining that of St. Peter, so that within its walls he and the body of monks whom he intended to associate with him might unite in the service of Christ. As time passed, the example of the piety of the monks brought contempt upon

<sup>1</sup> Alric was living as late as the reign of William I, see Hemming, p. 266.

<sup>2</sup> Translation from *St. Oswald and the Church of Worcester*, p. 4.

<sup>3</sup> Hemming, p. 343.

the life of the clerks, with the result that the numbers of the latter declined, while those of the monks increased from day to day. In this way the pontifical seat was changed to the church of the ever-blessed Mary.<sup>1</sup> Elsewhere—in the 'Life of Oswald', which he tells us he wrote at the request of the monks of Worcester—Eadmer refers again to the church of St. Mary, this time in connexion with the monastery, and states that Oswald began to build a monastery below the episcopal seat itself (*infra ipsam sedem episcopalem*), and that when he had completed the church he dedicated it in honour of the Virgin.<sup>2</sup>

That this church of St. Mary was not an old one rebuilt is shown by a later passage in the same work, where, describing the burial of Oswald, Eadmer relates that the body was borne to the church of the blessed Virgin, which he had built from its foundations.<sup>3</sup>

We get another and less accurate picture of Worcester under Oswald in a passage impossible to date which is to be found in the *Ramsey Chronicle*. The writer is giving what probably reflects a Ramsey tradition of the way in which Oswald brought in the Benedictine Rule into his cathedral, and he tells us that, after he had built the church of St. Mary from its foundations, the bishop, acting with the authority of king and archbishop, proposed to the secular canons of the city that they should either renounce their prebends or take the habit of religion. Some, he says, refused, and were driven as wanderers over the face of the earth, while others accepted the counsel and became monks, Oswald bestowing on each flock (secular and monastic) the consolations of alternate visitation, presiding lawfully over the one as bishop and the other as abbot.<sup>4</sup>

This view of Oswald's methods suggests a harshness and intolerance of which we now know him to have been utterly incapable; one, too, which all Worcester evidence goes to disprove. Weighing it carefully one can only suppose that it represents a tradition which had been distorted by the ignorance and partisanship of a later generation.

<sup>1</sup> *Memorials of Dunstan*, p. 197. But the bishop's chair was not removed until the end of Oswald's episcopate, or perhaps even until the time of his successor, bishop Adulf, for in one of the last of Oswald's leases it is stated that the pontifical seat is in the church of St. Peter. The lease is given in Hemming (p. 232), who, following the 'Oswald' cartulary, dates it in error 965. The list of witnesses shows that it belongs to the year 991.

<sup>2</sup> *Historians of the Church of York*, ii, 23-4.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 38. The statement is corroborated by Florence of Worc. sub. 992.

<sup>4</sup> *Ramsey Chronicle* (R.S.), p. 41-2.

Th

*A Pair of Fourth-century Romano-British  
Pottery Kilns near Crambeck*

By PHILIP CORDER, M.A., F.S.A.

*With a Note on the Distribution of Crambeck Ware*

By MARGARET BIRLEY

I

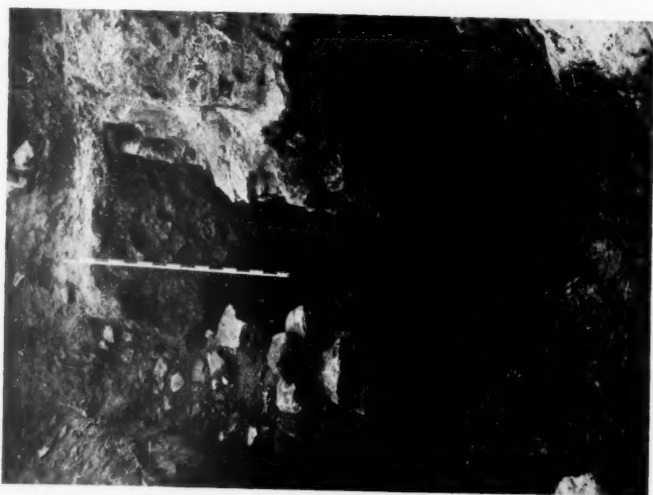
TEN years ago two pairs of Romano-British kilns for the manufacture of pottery were discovered by some boys from Bootham School, York, on the slope of the hill from Whitwell to the Crambeck, about thirteen miles north-east of York and five miles from the fortress of Malton. These were excavated by boys from Bootham School under the writer's supervision, and details of their structure and of the pottery made in them have been published.<sup>1</sup> Earlier finds of kilns in the same neighbourhood were then recorded, and these, together with the amount of pottery recovered, made it clear that pottery manufacture had been very extensive in the district. Since that report was published, the importance of Crambeck wares and their wide distribution in the northern military area in the fourth century have been widely recognized. The discovery of another pair of kilns in 1936, which throw more light on kiln-structure than did those of the earlier find, provides, in the light of subsequent investigations, an opportunity for a fuller discussion of the date of their activity than was at that time possible.

THE KILNS OF 1936

The recent discoveries came about in the following manner. In the autumn of 1935, in order to test the extent of pottery manufacture in the neighbourhood, Messrs. G. B. Walker, R. S. Harland, and D. H. Waller, all of Bootham School, undertook a thorough search of the ploughed fields to the south-west of the Crambeck site. They found sherds of Crambeck type widely distributed on the surface in the direction of Whitwell, even in the fields to the west of Shepherdfields Lane. In two places in the second field south of Mount Pleasant Farm numerous fragments of baked clay also occurred over an area small enough to indicate the presence of kilns nearby (*Y.A.J.* xxxii, 465). One

<sup>1</sup> 'The Roman Pottery at Crambeck, Castle Howard, 1928' (*Roman Malton and District Report No. 1*).

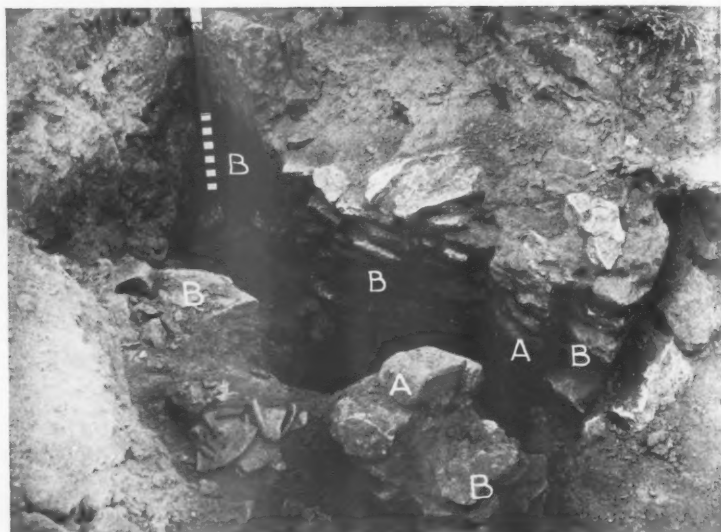




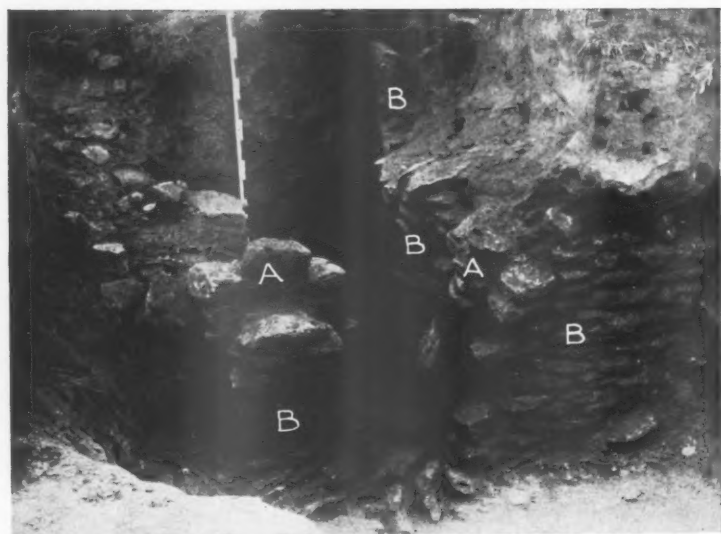
2. Kiln II, from north



1. Kiln I, from west



1. Kiln II, west side



2. Kiln II, from NE.

of these was at the foot of a pylon close to the main road. Soon after this discovery extensive road-making operations were begun by the North Riding County Council, a completely new line being laid out for the York—Malton road to the east of the

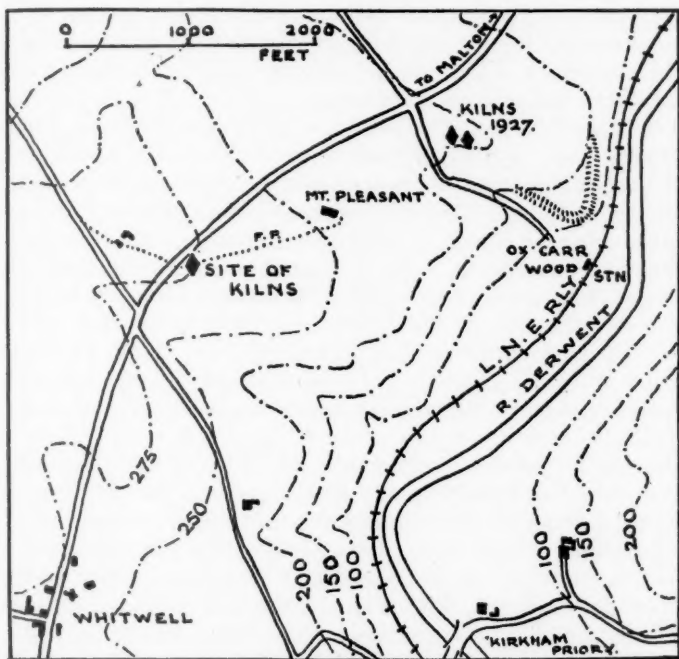


FIG. 1. Map showing position of kilns discovered in 1927 and 1936

existing highway. The same three boys collected large quantities of sherds in the wake of the mechanical navvy, but no close supervision was possible. The ground around the pylon, however, lay in the middle of the track of the new road, and it was, therefore, left standing until the main cutting and embankment were complete. Trial holes about 3 ft. square were dug in this 'island' by the roadmakers to mark out the depth to which the mechanical navvy would subsequently work. The three boys noticed that one of these, within about 6 ft. of the foot of the pylon, had cut through what appeared to be an occupation layer containing ash and sherds. Leave was kindly granted by Mr. Thomas C. Blake, District Surveyor of the N.R.C.C., for excavations to be undertaken at this spot under the writer's direction, before the

whole site was removed by the mechanical navvy. Work was begun with a small party of boys from Bootham School on 6 June 1936, and within a few minutes it was clear that the trial-hole had been dug through, and had partially removed, the furnace and flue of a kiln. Subsequent work revealed a second kiln opening out of the same stoke-hole. These kilns lie on the 275 ft. contour on the line of the footpath leading from Mount Pleasant to Hardy Flatts (O.S. 6-in. Yorks. CXLII. NE. 1912), at a point 72 ft. from the eastern verge of the main road of 1936. They are thus nearly half a mile from those excavated at Jamie's Craggs in 1927. Since the completion of the excavation both the pylon and the kilns that lay at its foot have been swept away, and the concrete surface of the new road passes over their site.

The kilns are identical in structure with the two pairs found in 1927 at Crambeck. Since the publication of the Crambeck report, a full list of Romano-British pottery kilns, up to 1930, and a classification of their structure, have been published by Mr. W. F. Grimes ('Holt, Denbighshire. The Twentieth Legion at Castle Lyons', *Y Cymmrodor*, xli, 53-84), to which the reader may be referred for fuller discussion of comparative kiln structure.

The kilns here described are of Mr. Grimes's type A i, that is, small updraught kilns with circular furnaces. They consist of a stoke-hole pit, out of which lead the stone-built flues or fire-tunnels. These open into the combustion chambers or furnaces, circular clay-lined and clay-floored pits with vertical walls and level floors, originally covered by a clay roof, provided with vent-holes for the passage of the heat. These vent-holed platforms, at original ground level, formed the permanent floor of the temporary domed oven in which the pots were stacked for firing. As in all the four kilns found at Crambeck in 1927, this vent-holed platform was without support of any kind beyond the furnace walls, nor were the furnaces provided with any chimney or exhaust by which the draught might be regulated, such as existed at the Throlam Kilns ('The Roman Pottery at Throlam, Holme-on-Spalding Moor', *Roman Malton and District Report No. 3*, p. 18), or at the contemporary kilns excavated by Mr. Heywood Sumner in the New Forest (*Excavations in New Forest Roman Pottery Sites*, 1927). The temporary oven must, therefore, have been provided with a vent-hole or have been made of permeable material such as turf and branches.

The plan of grouping the kilns in pairs, opening out of the same stoke-hole pit, seems to have been in general use at the Crambeck potteries. Similar grouping was found at Silchester

(*Archaeologia*, lxii, 327 f., and May, *Silchester Pottery*, 192 ff.), but a single example of a group of four kilns arranged on a cruciform plan is recorded from St. Paul's Churchyard in 1672 (*R.C.H.M., Roman London*, 140). At Crambeck the angle of the two kilns to one another seems to have been chosen haphazard, though their general orientation may have been dictated by prevailing winds. The two pairs discovered in 1927 were at an angle of  $69.5^\circ$  and  $80^\circ$  to one another respectively, and were so orientated that the first pair could have been fired together in a SW. wind, and the second pair in a NE. wind. The pair that are the subject of this report are at an angle of  $120^\circ$ , and it seems unlikely that they could have been conveniently fired at the same time. They are, however, situated almost at the top of the hill, in a more exposed position than the others, and may have been fired alternately according to the prevailing wind. If this be so, there seems to be little practical advantage in the arrangement in pairs.

#### *Kiln I*

About half of the furnace and the southern side of the flue passage had been destroyed by the road-makers' trial hole. The flue faced east from the stoke-hole. Its walls, which stood nine courses high, were built of roughly dressed slabs of local oolite, cemented with clay, which had become almost black with successive firing. The floor of the passage, 3 ft. 1 in. long, was formed by the undisturbed rock. The opening was 13 in. wide at floor level, but the flue widened to about 2 ft., narrowing again to about 1 ft. 6 in. at the furnace. This was 2 ft. 5 in. in diameter. It had been reconstructed, and was not contemporary with the flue passage, which in form and construction resembled exactly that of period I in kiln II. Evidence of the reconstruction of the furnace was provided by digging outside its walls. A pit with sloping sides, about a foot wider than the furnace, had been dug into the clean sand. This had been floored with cobbles, and the reconstructed furnace wall built up in stages, the space behind it being filled with sandy earth containing sherds and ash, as the new wall arose. The original furnace, like those discovered in 1927, would be simply a clay-lined pit. After a period of use the clay walls would become brittle, and eventually the vent-holed roof, which was unsupported by pillars or buttresses in these kilns, must have collapsed, necessitating this rather cumbersome method of reconstruction. It was noted that the outer layers of clay in the furnace wall, although burnt red, were still soft, which may indicate that the reconstructed furnace

had not been used for long before the final abandonment of the kilns.

### *Kiln II*

This was the largest kiln yet discovered at Crambeck, and its furnace, when complete, must have provided as large a span as could be conveniently roofed by an unsupported clay roof. Unfortunately the greater part of its furnace had been destroyed when the pylon was made; the loose filling of the pit containing the concrete foundation of the pylon leg can be seen behind the scale in pl. LXXXV, 2. The portion of the furnace wall that survived was remarkably preserved, and was standing 2 ft. 5 in. high to within 6 in. of the present surface.

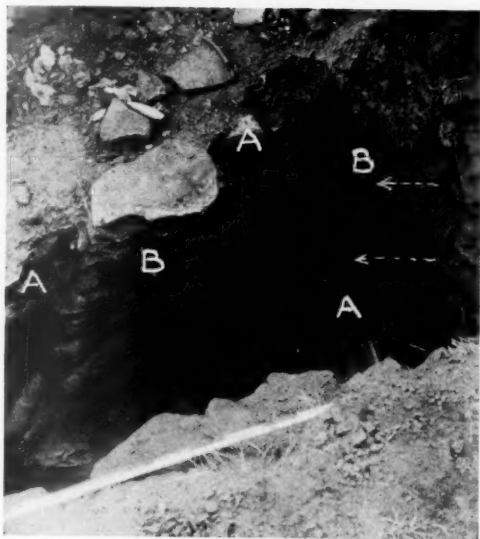
This kiln showed clearly two periods of construction, both the furnace and the flue having been rebuilt.

*Period I* (A on pl. LXXXVI). In its first phase the flue was at least 4 ft. long, and, like that of kiln I, it had widened from 14 in. at the opening, narrowing again to the point of junction with the furnace. Its walls, which were burnt almost to powder, had been cemented with clay, as had been the slabs that formed its floor.

*Period II* (B on pl. LXXXVI). The level of the floor of the flue had been raised 6 in. This had been simply done by ramming the lumps of baked clay from the destroyed furnace walls upon the layer of accumulated ash on its floor. At the same time the sides of the flue had been repaired, where they had become most burnt, by the addition of fresh masonry, built up against, but not bonded into, the earlier walls. Fresh 'cheeks' were provided at both sides of the flue opening in the same manner, built against the earlier ones, and stepped up upon the sloping rock floor of the stoke-hole (pl. LXXXV). The flue was thus lengthened to 4 ft. 6 in. and at the same time narrowed to 2 ft. 2 in. at the furnace opening, and to 9½ in. at the flue opening at ground level. The opening, however, was splayed upwards, like that of kiln C of 1927 (*loc. cit.*, section fig. 24). In these reconstructions no clay had been used, the stone slabs being merely bedded in sand. The surviving fragment of the furnace, 3 ft. 6 in. in diameter, also belongs to this reconstruction, the furnace floor being formed merely by a fresh spread of clay upon the sooted debris of its predecessor. To cope with the sharp rise in level at the mouth of the flue, several stones had been set on edge to form a kind of sill at the flue opening (pl. LXXXVI, 2).

No doubt the level of the stoke-hole floor had also risen, but no clear stratification was here apparent, although the stoke-hole was choked with broken sherds, black ash, and fallen stones.





1. Kiln II, east side



2. Type 15, jugs



3. Fragment of face vase

T  
2  
f  
c  
a  
l  
P  
f  
l  
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a  
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V  
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The walls of the flue of period I were standing to a height of 2 ft. 8 in. and those of period II to 2 ft. 2 in. above the made-up floor. Of the method of roofing the flue in period I there was, of course, no evidence, but it seemed probable, to judge from a large flat fragment of clay that appeared to be *in situ* at the level of the top of the flue wall, and from numerous similar pieces of baked clay in the filling of the flue above the later floor, that in period II the roof had been of clay, rather than of large slabs of stone as in the kilns of 1927. The large size of this kiln may have made roofing with stone impracticable.

The only evidence bearing on the date of the rebuilding was a large part of a wide-mouthed bowl (fig. 2, no. 4) found in pieces between the floors of the flue near its opening. This type of vessel and the characteristic mortarium, a variant of the 'hammer-head', are the two types produced in considerable quantity at these kilns and those of 1927, which do not occur at the Coastal Signal Stations. They are, therefore, earlier than c. A.D. 370, and indeed they are common on fourth-century sites in East Yorkshire, the wide-mouthed bowl occurring first at Malton before the end of the third century (*The Defences of the Roman Fort at Malton*, fig. 6, no. 23). It is tempting, therefore, to suppose that the rebuilding of this kiln dates from the reorganization of the defences of the north under Theodosius, when the rebuilt fort at Malton and the newly established Coastal Signal Stations, not to mention the forts on the Wall, led to a renewed demand for pottery. This would, however, be straining the evidence, for it is obvious that such small and roughly made kilns would need constant repair. In fact the labour of constructing new ones must have been so slight that it is perhaps surprising to find such extensive repair in kiln II.

As might be expected, no very definite evidence as to the final abandonment of the kilns was forthcoming. Except for the vent-holed platforms and the roofs of the flues, the permanent part of them was well preserved, and the destruction of these may well have been due to the weight of accumulated soil and subsequent ploughing, so near were they to the surface. Evidence of violent destruction would hardly be likely to be found at the kilns themselves, and, until the potters' living-quarters or their drying-sheds are discovered, the question must be left unsolved. None of the kilns found in 1927, nor those just described, were found loaded, so that what evidence there is points to gradual decay of the industry rather than sudden hasty abandonment.

## THE POTTERY

The kilns that are the subject of this Report have added only a few details to our knowledge of the ware manufactured here, as they are exactly contemporary with the kilns discovered in 1927, whose products have already been fully studied. Since the publication of the Crambeck Report, many of the types manufactured here have been widely recognized on fourth-century sites in the northern military area. The publication of the pottery from the Coastal Signal Stations by Mr. M. R. Hull (*Arch. Journ.* lxxxix) showed that the Crambeck kilns were the source of much of the pottery used in them, while excavation at the Malton Fort, the Langton Villa, and other sites, attested its use in the east of Yorkshire at the same period. It has been recognized regularly on the Wall, and not only crossed the Pennines, but penetrated beyond the frontier into Scotland. It is now possible to date the different types with much greater precision than was possible in the earlier Report. As the ware is likely to be increasingly valuable to excavators in the dating of northern sites, it is proposed to simplify the following account of the pottery, and at the same time add to its usefulness, by omitting detailed discussion of individual specimens, and grouping it into numbered types for ease of reference. These will be illustrated by type specimens, as far as possible taken from the actual kilns. The sherds recovered from the stoke-hole were, unfortunately, very fragmentary, although in great quantity, the main piles of 'wasters' not having been discovered in the limited time available for excavation before the whole site was removed. Where the illustrations do not show a full section of the vessel, they have been confidently restored in outline from experience gained in handling many hundreds of their type. For detailed description of individual pieces reference should be made to the earlier report, in which the pottery is very fully illustrated. Instead of a detailed discussion of parallels, which are now well known to northern excavators, a table has been prepared, relating the numbered types to their fuller illustration in the previous Crambeck report, and to Mr. Hull's classification of Signal Station types. In addition, references are made to their local occurrence at the Malton Fort and the Langton Villa, and to the stratified pottery recovered at Birdoswald in 1929. This latter may be taken as representative of many sites on Hadrian's Wall. The dating of the various types is discussed below.

*Type 1.* Straight-sided flanged bowl. These, together with types 1*a* and 1*b*, form half the output of the kilns, and occur in vast quantity.

The majority are grey or black, and when they occur in light red, light brown, or dirty white, as they occasionally do, they may be regarded as 'wasters' improperly fired. They are sometimes unpolished, but more often are burnished or smoothed either inside or outside or both. Those that are smoothed are usually lighter in the core, the black vessels being generally smoothed, or even polished, and grey or reddish-brown in the core. They vary considerably in size, and in the extent of projection of the flange. No chronological significance can be attached to the thickness, angle, or form of the flange.

*Type 1 a.* Straight-sided flanged dish, to which the same description applies. Unless a complete section of the vessel is obtained, these are indistinguishable from type 1. They never have the internal wavy line of type 1 b.

*Type 1 b.* Straight-sided flanged bowl with internal wavy line burnished, usually on an unpolished band, about an inch below the rim. Large examples have sometimes two or even three wavy lines, but these are not common. Type 1 b is usually, but not always, smoothed internally; in other respects the description of type 1 is applicable also to type 1 b. Type 1, 1 a, 1 b are never decorated externally with a wavy line, like that common on vessels of the same form from the Throlam kilns. Type 1 b represents about two-thirds of the vessels of this form.

*Type 2.* Straight-sided dish. This has the same colour and texture as type 1. The side is straight internally or slightly concave, the outside usually slightly convex. The base is flat or slightly raised. They vary greatly in size, and slightly in the angle between base and side, which is, however, never vertical.

*Type 2 a.* Straight-sided dish with external groove immediately below the rim. In all other respects similar to type 2.

*Type 3.* Jar or olla with two countersunk handles. This is found in the same ware as type 1, but most commonly in light grey, unfumed, and smoothed on rim and shoulder and around the base. The rim is more or less sharply out-curved. The handles are deeply countersunk, and were not separately moulded. Around the shoulder at the level of the handles is a burnished wavy line, or a series of large scored pot-hooks, or more frequently scribbled running loops. On the lower part of the body is a broad unsmoothed zone, sometimes demarcated by grooves, bearing vertical, scored, or burnished lines.

*Type 3 a.* Jar or olla with two counter-sunk handles, with upright grooved rim. This is of uncommon occurrence. Though usually smaller than type 3, it is similar in every respect except its rim, which resembles that of type 2 a. The example illustrated from the Langton Well is unusual in having a pence-mould on the shoulder.

*Type 4.* Deep wide-mouthed bowl. These occur usually in grey ware, smoothed on the rim and shoulder. They vary considerably in size and in the form of the rim. This may be simply out-curved, slightly hooked, or obliquely out-bent. In some the shoulder is very clearly marked, and in extreme cases bears an incised groove. Around the body, on a broad

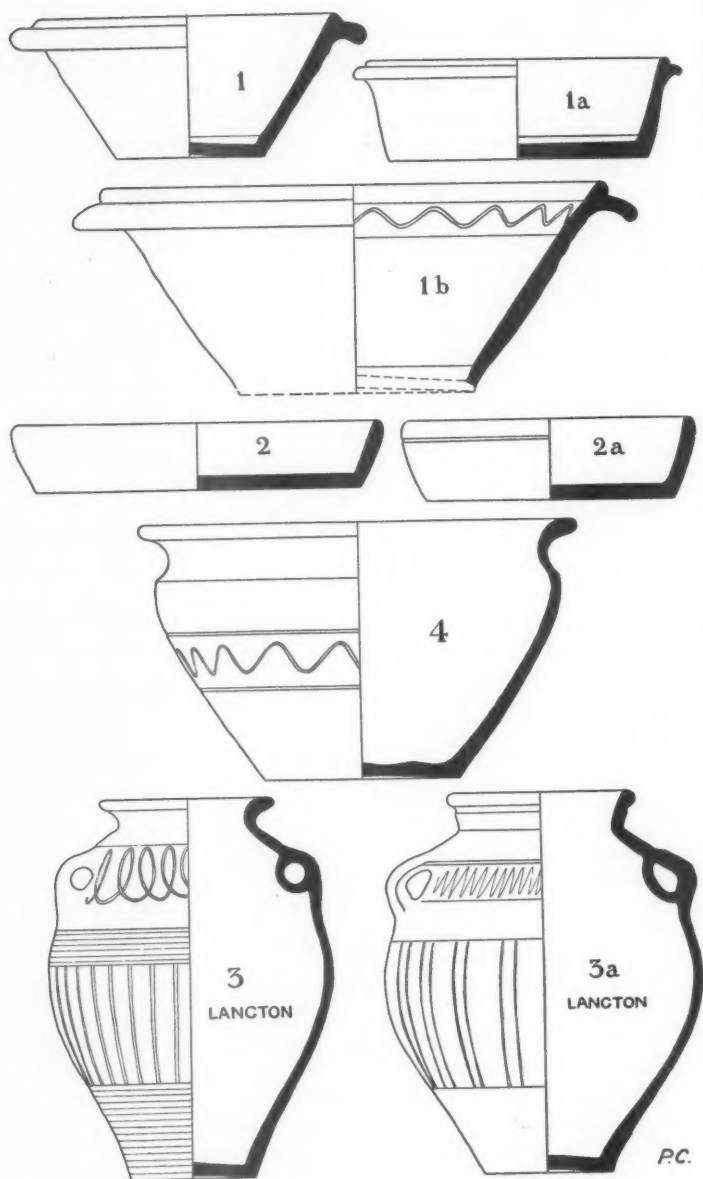


FIG. 2. Crambeck Ware, Types 1-3 a ( $\frac{1}{4}$ )



zone demarcated by one or more grooves, is burnished a bold wavy line or a series of intersecting arcs.

A single example found in 1927 (Crambeck, no. 166; Hull, fig. 12) was in hard black ware, with a rim exactly like that of type 16 ('Hunt-cliff type' cooking-pot). It was regarded by Mr. Hull as an intermediate link between our type 4 and his type 27 (wide-mouthed bowl in calcite-gritted ware). It bore a faint lattice decoration on the body which never occurs on type 4.

*Type 5.* Hemispherical flanged bowl. This form of bowl, which is an imitation of Samian 38 was manufactured at other contemporary potteries. The bowls made at Crambeck vary a good deal in form. They have either plain incurved rims, like type 2, or rims with external grooves, like type 2*a*. The flange is usually rather slight, often not much more than a ledge, like Samian 44, and relatively near the rim, such bowls being less truly hemispherical than those with more fully developed flanges. The bases have a slight foot-ring, and are generally flat. Since their form varies so greatly, it is proposed to classify them according to ware. Type 5 is in smooth orange-red ware of fine texture, a tolerable imitation of Samian ware (cf. Crambeck, 18 and 19). This seems to be a Crambeck speciality, and not to have had a wide distribution. There is no question of the colour being an accident, as the bowls are carefully smoothed and readily distinguished from those in other ware. They have not yet been found with an external groove. Type 5*a* appears in all shades from light blue-grey to black, like the straight-sided bowls of type 1. Type 5*b* is in the hard smooth white or yellowish white of all the late wares painted with orange-red paint. The rim is either plain or grooved externally. The painted decoration takes a great variety of form, and covers the part of the bowl above the flange and sometimes the flange itself. Among common motifs are the SS pattern, pot-hooks, groups of parallel lines, and chevron patterns of groups of two, three, or four strokes. The type specimen shows an unrecorded scheme of decoration, and it will be noticed that the brush work is, as usual, rather free and irregular. Not infrequently type 5*b* is furnished with fine black grit as a mortar (*Malton*, fig. 21, no. 3).

*Type 6.* 'Hammerhead' or flanged mortarium with plain or reeded flange. This is the predominant type of mortar at Crambeck. It is usually in hard yellowish-buff ware, but occurs in various shades of grey when over-fired. The flange, which is at an angle to the raised bead-rim, has from one to four grooves or reedings. The spout has degenerated into a mere depression made in the bead-rim by the potter's thumb. The grit is invariably coarse and black. A very few examples have an incised zig-zag line on the flange, like the contemporary mortaria made in the New Forest kilns, but these are so infrequent that they have not been given a type number.

*Type 7.* Small painted 'Wallside' mortarium. This may be a development of Samian 45. It has a vertical or slightly insloping band or collar beneath the grooved rim on which the orange-red painted decoration is arranged. The favourite pattern consists of groups of strokes either



upright or chevron-wise, but the SS and pot-hook patterns also occur. The base is plain and flat: the grit always black and usually very fine.

*Type 8.* Small painted mortarium with double-flanged rim. This is similar in size, ware, grit, and painted decoration to type 7, but where the external groove is situated in that type there is a ledge or small flange, which gives it its distinctive outline. The upper surface of this flange is often decorated as well as the part below it.

*Type 9.* Small bowl with upright rim grooved on the outside. This is in the same ware as types 7 and 8, and is often painted. It is so uncommon at Crambeck that it is here included with some hesitation. The type-specimen was found in the stoke-hole and had undoubtedly been made at Crambeck.

*Type 10.* Large painted dish or platter. This is usually in the same smooth yellowish-white ware as the other painted types. The larger vessels have knobbed rims, but others have flatter rims forming an internal bead and projection. In addition to the characteristic decoration of groups of fine strokes on the rim, these platters are painted inside with lines of SS and concentric circles, as on the base fragment illustrated, which comes from the kilns of 1927. A sort of tree pattern radiating from the centre was found in 1927 (*Crambeck*, 64), while a spirited representation of a stag was found at Malton, as well as a series of stars and circles (*Malton*, fig. 21, nos. 9, 10).

*Type 10a.* Large dish or platter. Similar in form to type 10, but in grey or black and unpainted. About two inches below the rim on the inside there are one or two burnished wavy lines.

*Type 11.* Small jar or beaker. These are in fine grey or black. They have obliquely out-bent rims, globular bodies, slightly raised bases, often rather heavy for the sake of stability, and foot-rings. They are not common and no complete specimen has been recovered.

*Type 12.* Beaker. The specimen illustrated was found at the kilns of 1927, but too late for inclusion in the report. Fragments of similar vessels in grey or black were found in the stoke-hole. The bulbous body is decorated, or roughened, by bands of roulette-notching. The base is contracted and has a heavy foot-ring.

*Type 12a.* Similar to the last, but with a ledge or peltice moulding on the shoulder, also covered with roulette-notching. Not illustrated.

*Type 13.* Small bowls. Several small bowls of about the same size, but of varying forms are here grouped together. Type 13, from the stoke-hole, is in thick coarse brick-red ware. It is a single specimen, but may be taken as the type to which such vessels as *Crambeck* 30 and 34 belong.

*Type 13a.* The type specimen comes from the kilns of 1927, and has not been found in the recent excavations. Such bowls, which are uncommon, are sometimes rouletted on the body (*Crambeck*, 37, 42).

*Type 13b.* The type specimen comes from Norton, but was certainly made at Crambeck. These bowls are usually, but not always, in smooth black, and have a well-marked foot-ring (*Crambeck*, 31, 32, 35). They also occur, but not so far at Crambeck itself, in the smooth yellowish-white of the other painted fabrics. An example from Malton (*Malton*,

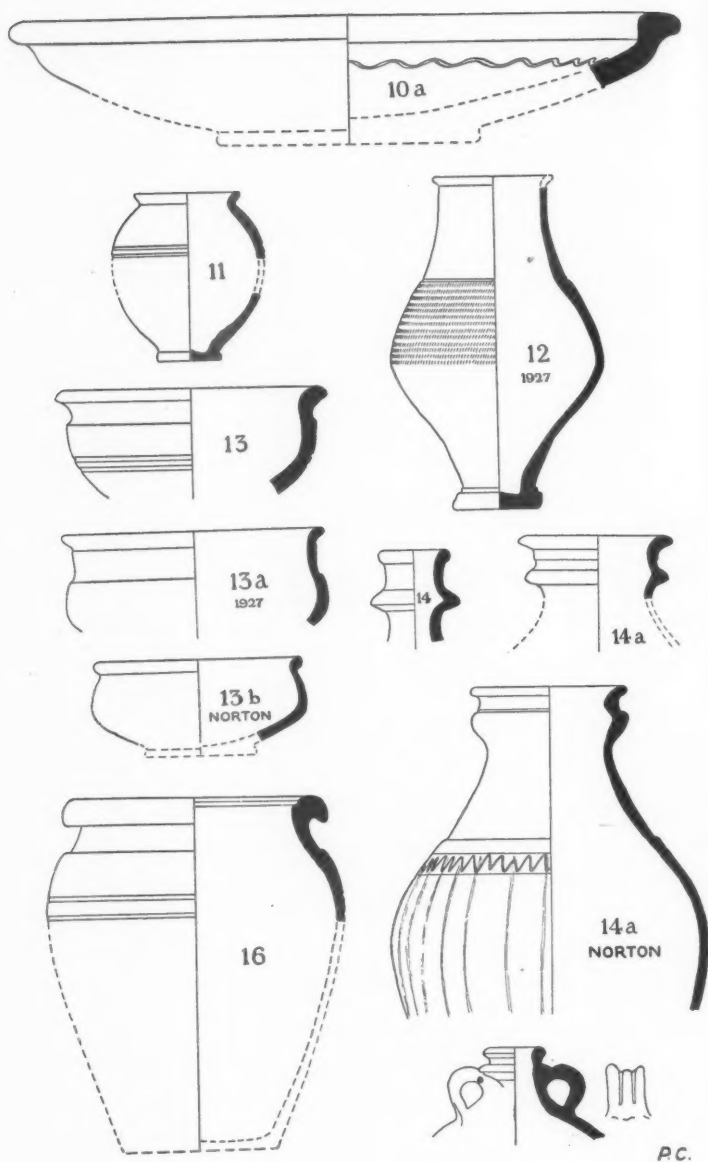


FIG. 4. Crambeck Ware, Types 10a-16 ( $\frac{1}{4}$ )

fig. 21, no. 5) has two broad red lines beneath the rim, and a series of alternate blobs and crosses on the body.

*Type 14.* Bottle or flagon, with one or two projecting mouldings below the upright or slightly out-bent rim (*Crambeck*, 167-75). The narrow neck joins the bulbous body in an unbroken curve, but it is unknown whether they had one handle or none, and the type of base is also in doubt. They are always in grey ware, sometimes smoothed. A single specimen of a small two-handled flagon from the stoke-hole is illustrated here with type 14, because its neck is similar.

*Type 14a.* A larger flagon with a similar rim, but generally found with one moulding only below the out-bent rim (*Crambeck*, 177-80). The upper part of a flagon of this type from Norton is illustrated to show the probable form of the body. It is in hard grey Crambeck fabric, smoothed externally, except for a narrow zone below the junction of neck and body, which bears a fine burnished wavy line. The body has burnished vertical lines upon it, like type 3. It is improbable that these flagons had handles.

*Type 15.* Jugs with reeded handles and pinched spouts. These are very uncommon, and are found in such small fragments that a type specimen cannot be illustrated. They are invariably in unsmoothed grey ware. The handle, which has three or more reedings is attached immediately below the rim, and joins the body below the junction with the neck which is marked by a ledge or groove. The spout, which droops slightly, has been formed by pinching and pulling the rim before firing, with the consequence that the rim-moulding is blurred. The photograph (pl. LXXXVII, 2) shows two reconstructed necks found in 1927. Only small scraps of the type were found in the recent excavations.

*Type 16.* Calcite-gritted cooking-pot, often referred to as the 'Hunt-cliff type'. Its characteristics are so well known that no description is necessary. It appears to have been made at Crambeck, as well as at Knapton, but in no great quantity. The enormous quantities of this type of cooking-pot that occur on all sites in the north, occupied during the last thirty years of the fourth century, make it extremely probable that it was also manufactured at other potteries, as yet undiscovered.

*Face Vases.* In addition to the types described above, vessels bearing human faces are known to have been manufactured at the kilns. In 1927 fragments of a large olla in smooth red ware were found, bearing upon its side part of a face, the eyebrows formed by applied ridges, and the face enclosed in an arc of stamped rosettes. What was then illustrated (*Crambeck*, fig. 20) as the nose may be a hammer in applied relief, similar to that on the well-known Smith's Vase at Colchester (*Catalogue of the Roman Pottery in the Colchester and Essex Museum*, p. 146 and text-fig. 3), for several fragments bearing similar emblems, one with a pair of human arms, the fingers extended as if clutching the body of the vessel, have been found at the neighbouring fortress at Malton. In 1936 a grey sherd found in the stoke-hole of the kilns bore part of a human face (pl. LXXXVII, 3). The eyebrows and straight nose are formed by a ridge of clay in applied relief, the eyes themselves being represented by circular stamps bearing a

rosette-like arrangement of dots not unlike the reverse of some Brigantian coins, while just sufficient of the sherd remains to show that the face had been demarcated by an arc of rosette-stamps similar to those on the vessel found in 1927. A small human face found at Norton is in smooth grey ware of Crambeck fabric and seems to show that occasionally crude mask-mouthed flagons were also made at the Crambeck kilns. The face had been attached to the neck of such a vessel, the upper part, where the hair is represented by incised circles, rising above the rim. The nose is moulded, but the eyes are represented by applied discs of clay, in the centre of which are incised circles similar to those used to represent the hair. The mouth is a mere incision, and the whole workmanship is crude in the extreme.

	CRAM- BECK.	SIGNAL STATIONS.	MALTON.	LANGTON.	BIRDOSWALD.
Type 1	3, 4	7	Frequent	<i>Fig. 25, nos. 36-45</i> <i>Fig. 4, no. 3 (H 5)</i> <i>Fig. 25, no. 47</i>	<i>Fig. 16, nos. 88-91 (III/IV)</i>
Type 1a	43 46		<i>Fig. 14, no. 12 (6+)</i>		
Type 1b	1, 2, etc.		Frequent	<i>Fig. 25, nos. 39, 44, 45</i> <i>Fig. 14, nos. 12, 14 (W)</i>	<i>Fig. 16, no. 87 (IV)</i>
Type 2	50, 51	17, 18	<i>Fig. 14, no. 29 (4)</i>	<i>Fig. 25, no. 33</i> <i>Fig. 4, no. 2 (H 5)</i> <i>Fig. 25, nos. 31, 32</i>	<i>Fig. 16, no. 85 (IV)</i> <i>Fig. 16, no. 86 (IV)</i>
Type 2a	52, 53				
Type 3	80-85	1	Frequent	<i>Fig. 26, nos. 87-89</i> <i>Fig. 15, nos. 1-2 (W)</i> <i>Fig. 15, no. 3 (W)</i>	<i>Fig. 14, no. 25 (III/IV)</i>
Type 3a	88	2	Uncommon		
Type 4	142-159	—	<i>Fig. 6, no. 23 (CW)</i> <i>Fig. 5, no. 1 (UR 3)</i>	<i>Fig. 26, nos. 92, 93</i>	—
Type 5	17-19	6	<i>Fig. 14, no. 8 (7)</i>	<i>Fig. 25, nos. 56, 57, 60, 64</i> <i>Fig. 14, no. 15 (W)</i>	<i>Fig. 16, no. 96</i>
Type 5a	20-23				
Type 5b	24-29		<i>Fig. 21, nos. 2, 3, 6, 13, 21</i>	<i>Fig. 25, nos. 62, 65, 66</i>	<i>Fig. 16, no. 92 (IV)</i>



	CRAM- BECK.	SIGNAL STATIONS.	MALTON.	LANGTON.	BIRDOSWALD.
Type 6	100-124	—	Frequent	<i>Fig. 24, nos.</i> 3, 5, 20	—
Type 7	130-133	10	<i>Fig. 21, nos.</i> 4, 7, 11, 15- 18, 20	<i>Fig. 24, nos.</i> 9, 11-17 <i>Fig. 14, no. 17</i> (w)	<i>Fig. 13, no. 17</i> (iv)
Type 8	136-141	11	<i>Fig. 21, nos.</i> 12, 19	<i>Fig. 24, no. 8</i> <i>Fig. 14, no. 16</i> (w)	<i>Fig. 13, nos.</i> 14, 15 (iv)
Type 9	77	8	—	<i>Fig. 25, nos.</i> 52, 53	<i>Fig. 16, no. 97</i> (iv)
Type 10	58-73	15	<i>Fig. 21, nos.</i> 9, 10		<i>Fig. 16, no. 99</i> (iii/iv)
Type 10 a	—		—	<i>Fig. 25, nos.</i> 48, 49 <i>Fig. 14, nos.</i> 21, 22 (w)	
Type 11	89-92	—	<i>Fig. 7, no. 35</i> (third cent.) <i>Fig. 14, no.</i> 24 (4) <i>Fig. 6, nos. 8,</i> 13 (cw)	<i>Fig. 26, nos.</i> 77-80	—
Type 12	Un- published	—	—	—	—
Type 12 a	—	—	<i>Fig. 14, no.</i> 27 (4)	—	—
Type 13,	30, 34, 35	—	—	—	—
Type 13 a	38, 39	—	—	—	—
Type 13 b	32	—	<i>Fig. 14, no.</i> 10 (6+) <i>Fig. 21, no. 5</i>	—	—
Type 14	167-175	13	—	<i>Fig. 26, no. 72</i>	<i>Fig. 15, no. 49</i> (iv)
Type 14 a	177-180	9	—	—	—
Type 15	185-187	—	—	—	—

	CRAM- BECK.	SIGNAL STATIONS.	MALTON.	LANGTON.	BIRDOSWALD.
Type 16	195-204	26	Fig. 14, nos. 1-5 (7) Fig. 14, no. 6 (6)	Fig. 27, nos. 101-110 Fig. 14, nos. 1-9 (w)	Fig. 14, no. 20 (iii/iv)
Dating	—	c. 370- c. 395	4 = (cw) = third cent. be- fore c. 280 6+ = (ur 3) = fourth cent. before c. 370 7 = after c. 395	(u 5) = late third and early fourth cent. (w+) = c. 335-c. 370 (w) = c. 370- c. 395	(iii) = c. 300- c. 368 (iv) = c. 370- c. 383 (iii/iv) = fourth cent. with sherds of both periods

## REFERENCES

- Crambeck = Numbers refer to the pottery illustrated from the kilns discovered in 1927 in *The Roman Pottery at Crambeck, Castle Howard*.  
Signal Stations = Hull's types from 'The Pottery from the Roman Signal Stations on the Yorkshire Coast' (*Arch. Journal*, lxxxix).  
Malton = *The Defences of the Roman Fort at Malton*.  
Langton = *The Roman Villa at Langton, near Malton*.  
Birdoswald = 'Excavations on Hadrian's Wall, in the Birdoswald-Pike Hill Sector, 1929', (*G. and W. A. and A. Trans.* xxx, N.S.).  
References in italics refer to unstratified deposits.

## THE DATE OF CRAMBECK WARE

A study of the foregoing table will make it immediately clear that types 1, 2, 3, 5, 7, 8, 9, 10, 14, and 16 were in use during the period c. A.D. 370-c. 395 and all of them appear before the abandonment of the Wall in c. A.D. 383. There can therefore be no longer any doubt that the Crambeck potteries were in full production after the disasters of the Picts War of A.D. 367. Moreover, these types represent about 70 per cent. of their total production (see Table of Approximate Percentages, p. 411). It is therefore certain that the most flourishing period of the industry may be assigned to the last thirty years of the fourth century, when the reorganization of the northern defences of the province by Count Theodosius led to an increased demand for these wares. We may, therefore, endorse Mr. Eric Birley's statement, written in 1932 (*G. and W. A. and A.* xxxii, p. 135):

It is becoming increasingly clear that the potteries near Malton, so far from suffering from the disaster of 368, were able to capture virtually the whole of the northern market in the last phase of the Roman occupation; at every site, from Ribchester and Ilkley as far north as the

native town on Traprain Law, beyond Cheviot, the products of the Crambeck kilns and the pottery that made the Huntcliff type of cooking-pot figure prominently among the latest material.

It is now necessary to inquire whether any of these types was in use before *c.* A.D. 370 or whether we are dealing with new types that were evolved to meet a fresh demand.

Type 1 is a form of bowl that is found throughout the Roman occupation, and was first recorded at Gellygaer (Ward, pl. xii, no. 11) in the Trajan-Hadrian period. Throughout the fourth century it is found in great quantities and was made at other potteries than Crambeck. Only those who have handled great quantities of these vessels at Crambeck can confidently assign a bowl of this form to the Crambeck potteries. It is therefore of little use for dating other sites.

Type 1*b*, on the other hand, with one or, in some large examples, two or three wavy lines on the interior of the vessel, occurs commonly on northern sites after *c.* 370, and has never been recorded earlier or from other sources of manufacture than Crambeck. It can therefore be looked on as characteristic of the Crambeck potters and be used for dating other sites with considerable confidence. At the kilns it appears to be contemporary with types 1 and 1*a* to which the same dating may be applicable, but this is incapable of proof.

Type 2 is a dish that had a very long life and is of common occurrence. Although the Crambeck vessels probably belong to the fourth century, the type is too common and too lacking in datable features to admit of closer dating, or to be used to date other sites.

Types 5*b*, 7, 8, 9, and 10, all of which are in smooth white or yellowish-white ware, decorated with orange-red paint, are securely dated to the period *c.* A.D. 370-*c.* 395 and do not appear earlier. They represent the best table-ware and may be said to take the place filled by Samian ware on earlier sites. Painted vessels of these forms represent not more than 3 per cent. of the product of the Crambeck potters. Up to the time of writing no other source of manufacture is known, though it is possible that other northern potteries, as yet undiscovered, were producing them. In the present state of knowledge they may be tentatively referred to Crambeck and they form much the most useful types for dating late sites.

Type 16 (calcite-gritted cooking-pot) was first recognized at Poltross Burn (*C. and W.A. and A.* xi). It is the typical cooking-pot of the Signal Stations, over 400 examples having been found at Scarborough alone, and its dating to *c.* 370-*c.* 395 is now

secure and needs no discussion. Its hand-made body, wheel-finished rim with marked shoulder and internal groove, mark it off from other vessels in calcite-gritted ware, which occur throughout the whole of the occupation at Malton. It is known to have been made at the Knapton kilns, 7 miles east of Malton (*A Roman Villa at Langton, near Malton*, pp. 96-9). It only represents about 2 per cent. of the Crambeck products, but many of the sherds found show no signs of use, and it must be concluded that it was made here also. Its very wide distribution in the north in the last thirty years of the fourth century would lead one to suppose that it was made at other potteries not yet discovered as well as at Crambeck and Knapton. It is often conveniently referred to as 'the Huntcliff type', but the name 'Huntcliff ware' is very misleading, as the ware is found in all periods in East Yorkshire, where the vessels were manufactured (*Langton*, pp. 97-9). It must be stressed that only the form of the vessel can safely be used in dating other sites, as the fabric is essentially native and was in use in East Yorkshire from the early Iron Age (Hull, p. 243).

Type 3 (jar with countersunk handles) is typical of the Signal Stations and the latest period on the Wall, but very similar vessels were made at Throlam in large quantities (*The Roman Pottery at Throlam, Holme-on-Spalding-Moor*, figs. 14 and 15), probably at a rather earlier period, and care is needed in distinguishing them. Numerous vessels of types 3 and 3a were found at the bottom of the Langton Well, with a coin of Constantine (c. A.D. 335-7) in mint condition, and sealed by over 20 ft. of debris containing only Signal Station sherds (*Langton*, fig. 14). These vessels are, therefore, securely dated c. A.D. 335-c. 370, though they may belong to the end of that period. They appear, however, to have attained their greatest popularity after c. A.D. 370.

Let us now consider what are probably the earlier products of the kilns. It will be noted from the foregoing table that types 4, 6, 11, 12, 13, and 15 neither occur at the Signal Stations, nor in period IV (c. A.D. 370-c. 383) at Birdoswald. In view of the occurrence of the previously mentioned types in some quantity in this period, we cannot attribute this to chance, but must conclude that these six types were produced before c. A.D. 370. Confirmation of this is obtained in the case of type 4 (wide-mouthed bowl) from Malton, where it appears first in the late third century in the Carbonized Wheat layer (*Malton*, fig. 6, no. 23), and again before 370 under Road 3 (*ibid.* fig. 5, no. 1), while a very similar bowl, probably made at Throlam, occurs in the filling of Hypocaust 5 at Langton (fig. 4, no. 1).

Type 11 (small jar or beaker) also occurs first in the late third century at Malton (fig. 7, no. 35; and fig. 6, nos. 8 and 13), as does type 12*a* (fig. 14, no. 27). Type 6 (reeded 'hammerhead' mortar), which is the predominant type of mortar at Crambeck, is common at Malton and in East Yorkshire in the fourth century, and appears at Poltross Burn (*C. and W.A. and A.* xi, pl. v, no. 1-4), where it was thought by the excavators of 1909 to be earlier than *c.* A.D. 330. The presence of type 16 there, however, suggests that this date needs revision in the light of our increased knowledge of fourth-century pottery. Neither the single specimen of the 'hammerhead' mortar from the Signal Stations (Hull, pl. 1, no. 8), nor the examples from Birdoswald (*loc. cit.*, fig. 13, nos. 11 and 12) appear to have come from Crambeck. The latter are of the fourth century, but previous to *c.* A.D. 370. So far the type has not been reported from a sealed deposit of the third century, and may, therefore, be dated in the fourth century previous to *c.* A.D. 370.

It has already been noted that an example of type 4 was found in the flue passage of kiln II and sealed beneath the reconstructed floor of period II, which goes to prove that these kilns were working before *c.* A.D. 370 as well as after that date.

The other types are of such infrequent occurrence at the kilns and elsewhere that there is insufficient evidence on which to base discussion of their date.

#### TABLE OF APPROXIMATE PERCENTAGES

Approximate percentages of the different pottery types produced at the kilns, based on the number of rim sections found. For comparison the third column shows the percentage of Crambeck types that occur at the Signal Stations, based on the catalogue given by Mr. Hull, p. 250, and in the fourth column the percentage of each type based on the total number of Crambeck types that occur there.

TYPE.	SIGNAL STATIONS.			
	CRAMBECK, 1936.	CRAMBECK, 1927.	Percentage of total.	Percentage of types.
1	53	47	6.0	8.0
2	10	16	1.2	1.5
3	7.5	9	8.7	11.8
4	2	4	—	—
5	4	3	6.5	8.9
6	6.5	15	—	—
5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10	3.5	2	3.2	4.2
11, 12	3	1	—	—
14, 15	4	1	0.2	0.3
16	2	2	48.2	65.5
Other types	2.5	—	26.0	—

P. C.

## II

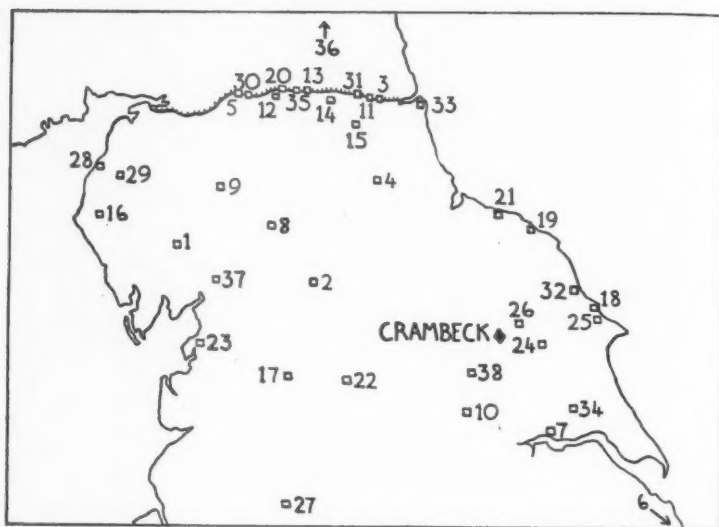


FIG. 5. Sketch-map showing distribution of Crambeck Ware

It will be seen that there are seven types which occur regularly in deposits that can be assigned to the period after the Picts War of A.D. 367, and which have not yet been noted in earlier associations. The lack of late coin-evidence from many places in the north of Britain makes these types of particular value, since they may be taken to demonstrate occupation in the last phase of the Roman period at the sites where they occur. It seems worth while, therefore, to set forth in tabular form the examples that have been noted; though it includes a quantity of unpublished material, the list has no claim to be exhaustive. The sites (indicated by their numbers on the accompanying distribution-map) are followed by the numbers of the types recorded at each, and then by a reference to the volume of the periodical in which the material has been published; where publication has been in a separate book, the name of the site appears in small capitals, and no further reference is given; where the name of the site is printed in *italics*, all or some of the material cited is unpublished.

The following abbreviations are employed: *p*, following a type number, indicates that all or some of the examples have painted decoration; *A.A.* = *Archaeologia Aeliana*, Fourth Series; *A.J.* = *Archaeological Journal*, lxxxix, 220f.; *C.W.* = *Cumberland*



and *Westmorland Transactions*, New Series; *Y.A.ſ.* = *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*.

1. Ambleside 5 b P, 7, 9 (*C.W.* xiv, xv, xxi).
2. Bainbridge 5, 7, 8, 9 (*Leeds Phil. Soc. Trans.* iii).
3. Benwell 5 b P, 7 (*A.A.* iv, v).
4. Binchester 1 b, 3, 5 b P, 7 P, 8 P, 10 P (*A.ſ.*).
5. Birdoswald 1 b, 3, 5, 7 P, 8, 9 P, 10 P (*C.W.* xxx).
6. Brancaster 1 b (*Antiq. Journ.* xvi).
7. Brough on Humber 1 b, 5 b, 7 P.
8. Brough under Stainmore 7 P (*C.W.* xxxiv).
9. Brougham 1 b, 5 b P, 7 P (*C.W.* xxxii).
10. Cawood 1 b, 5 b, 8 (*Y.A.ſ.* xxxii).
11. Chapel House 1 b (*A.A.* vii).
12. Chesterholm 1 b, 5 b P, 7 P, 8 P, 9 P, 10 P.
13. Chesters 1 b, 3, 5 b P, 7 P, 8 P, 9 P.
14. Corstopitum 1 b, 3, 5 b P, 7 P, 8, 9 P, 10 P.
15. Ebchester 10 P.
16. Ehenside Tarn 1 b (*Archaeologia*, xlv).
17. Elslack 7, 10 (*Y.A.ſ.* xxi).
18. Filey 1 b, 3 a, 5 b, 7 (*A.ſ.*).
19. Goldsborough 1 b, 3 a, 5 b, 7, 8, 9 (*A.ſ.*).
20. Housesteads 1 b, 5 b P, 7 P.
21. Huntcliff 3 a, 5 b, 7 P, 9 (*A.ſ.*).
22. Ilkley 5 b, 7, 8 (*Y.A.ſ.* xxviii).
23. Lancaster 5 b, 7 P, 8 (*Liverpool Annals*, ix).
24. LANGTON VILLA 1 b, 3, 5 b, 7 P, 8, 10 P.
25. Long Whins 1 b, 3 a, 5 b, 7 (*A.ſ.*).
26. MALTON 1 b, 5 b P, 7 P, 8 P, 9 P, 10 P.
27. MANCHESTER 7 P.
28. Maryport 1 b, 5 b (*C.W.* xv).
29. Papcastle 7 (*C.W.* xiii).
30. Poltross Burn 5 b P (*C.W.* xi).
31. Rudchester 1 b, 3, 5 b P, 7 P, 9 P (*A.A.* i).
32. Scarborough 1 b, 3 a, 5 b, 7 P, 8 P, 9, 10 P (*A.ſ.*).
33. South Shields 1 b, 3, 5 b P, 7 P, 8, 9.
34. THROLAM 9, 10.
35. Tower Tye 5 b P (*A.ſ.*).
36. Traprain Law 1\*, 3 (*Proc. Soc. Ant. Scot.* xlix, 1).
37. Watercrook 1 b (*C.W.* xxxiv).
38. York 1 b, 3 a, 5 b, 7 P (*Journ. Rom. Stud.* xviii).

\* Although it lacks the internal wavy line, this piece is undoubtedly Crambeck ware.

## *A Fourteenth-century Well at the Bank of England*

By G. C. DUNNING, F.S.A.

It is well known that wooden vessels were in common use for domestic purposes in medieval times: dishes, bowls, etc., almost certainly made of this material are shown in use in the kitchen and at table in several documents, for instance, the Bayeux tapestry, the Luttrell Psalter, and Queen Mary's Psalter. It is seldom, however, that the actual wooden vessels are found in excavations on medieval sites: mention may be made of 'two turned saucer-like bowls of beechwood, 8 in. in diameter, and about 1½ in. deep', found with other wooden objects and early medieval pottery in the filling of a deep shaft at Pevensey Castle.<sup>1</sup>

A remarkable find was made in 1929 during excavations on the site of the Bank of England beneath the NW. side of the old Power of Attorney, that is, about 100 ft. south of the Lothbury frontage and 140 ft. west of the Bartholomew Lane frontage. A well, 7 ft. 6 in. in diameter, built of chalk blocks, of which nine courses remained, to a height of 5 ft. 6 in., had been sunk through the lower deposits into the gravel. The well was filled with greenish black slime, from which were extracted pottery vessels, a number of wooden bowls, a few broken animal bones, and a hen's egg. All the pottery appears to be of about the same date in the fourteenth century, and is of value as a group of associated types and in giving a date to the wooden bowls.

### *Pottery (fig. 1)*

1. Jug of conical shape, 14½ in. high, of sandy buff ware, entirely covered with a rich olive-green glaze. The long trough-like spout rises above the rim level, and the rim behind it is cut away and the edges glazed over. The edge of the base is thumbed down by groups of three marks, but these are not deep enough to steady the sagging-base. The handle is marked at both ends by pairs of thumb impressions, and has a series of deep stabs down the middle.

The decoration consists of conventional leaves of applied scales joined by stalks to a diaper or trellis pattern of curved lines; the crossings are marked by pellets with raised centres. In technique and style the decoration is so similar to that of

<sup>1</sup> *Sussex Arch. Coll.* lii, 86.

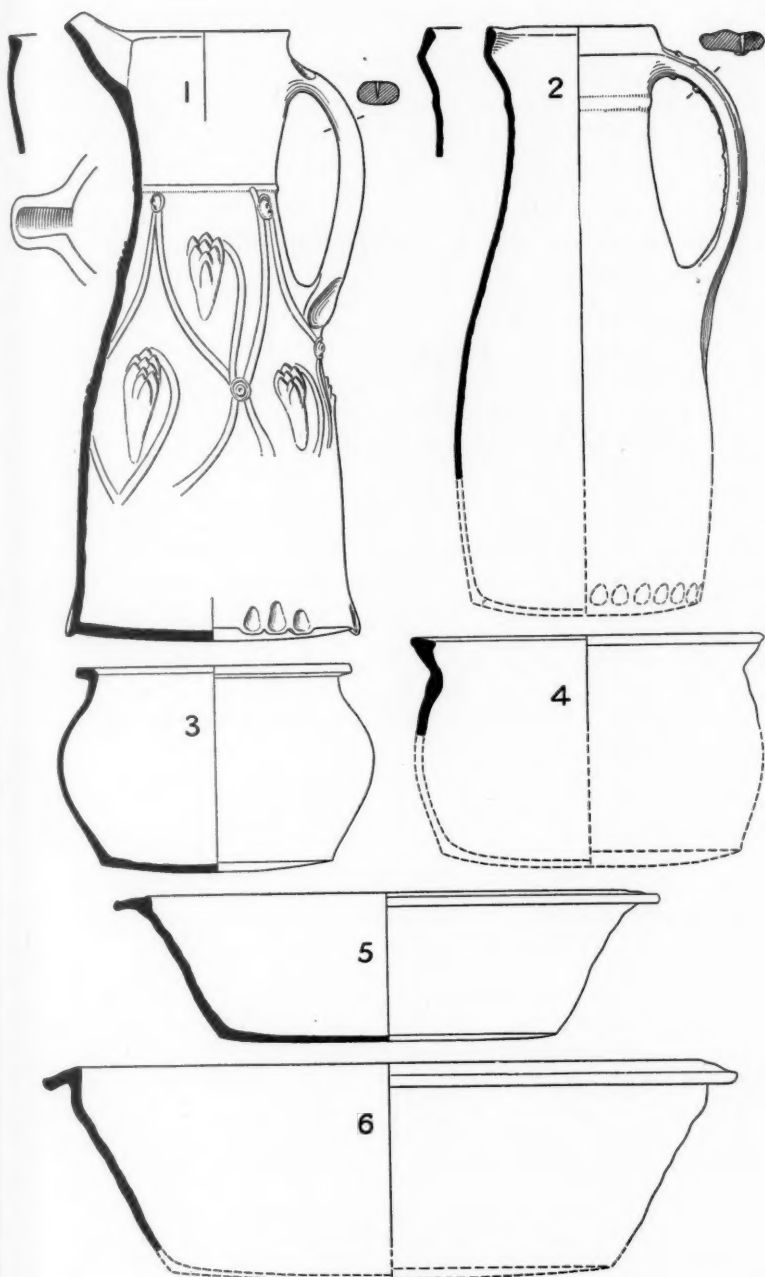


FIG. 1. Pottery, Bank of England ( $\frac{1}{4}$ )

another jug from London<sup>1</sup> that both vessels are almost certainly the work of the same potter.

The date of this jug may be determined with some accuracy. The spout is a local imitation of the bridge-spout of polychrome pottery of c. 1300, and its closeness to the prototype suggests that it is not much later than this date.<sup>2</sup> Partial thumbing down of the base is certainly a feature of thirteenth-century jugs,<sup>3</sup> but the jug containing the Boyton Manor hoard<sup>4</sup> shows that this form of base lasted until 1324 at least. The jug is possibly of late thirteenth-century date, but the high technical finish of the pottery as a whole is in favour of a slightly later date, and the group is therefore provisionally dated early fourteenth century.

2. Conical jug of sandy whitish ware, thin walled, and covered with a mottled dark-green glaze. The rim slopes towards the inside and has a pinched-out lip. The handle is of broad strap form, stabbed down the middle.

Jugs of this form are not infrequently found in London; examples in the Guildhall and London Museums have sagging-bases thumbled all round the edge, as restored in the drawing.

3. Small cooking-pot of sandy light-red ware, with thickened angular rim and sagging-base.

4. Fragment of cooking-pot of sandy whitish ware, with expanded rim bevelled on the inside. The form is restored after a similar pot found in a pit on the Bank site with a flanged bowl like that described next.

5. Open bowl of grey ware with light-green glaze on inside of base. The flanged rim is nearly level, and has a small beading on the inner side. The base sags very slightly.

6. Flanged bowl similar to no. 5, but larger. Grey ware with green glaze splashed on the rim and on the inside towards the base. The flange is bent downwards, and has a row of stabs close to the inner edge.

#### *Wooden Bowls (fig. 2)*

The wooden vessels were in a very friable condition, but fortunately had been preserved without distortion by the damp slime; they could only be preserved long enough for the drawings to be made. Apparently all were turned in beechwood. A large bowl (no. 1), 21½ in. diameter and 5½ in. high, was probably for kitchen use. Five of the vessels (nos. 2, 3,

<sup>1</sup> *Brit. Mus. Catalogue of English Pottery*, p. 63, fig. 50.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Archaeologia*, lxxxiii, 108, fig. 5, no. 20.

<sup>3</sup> *Antiq. Journ.* xv, 334, fig. 2, no. 13; and fig. 3, no. 17.

<sup>4</sup> *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1936, p. 155.

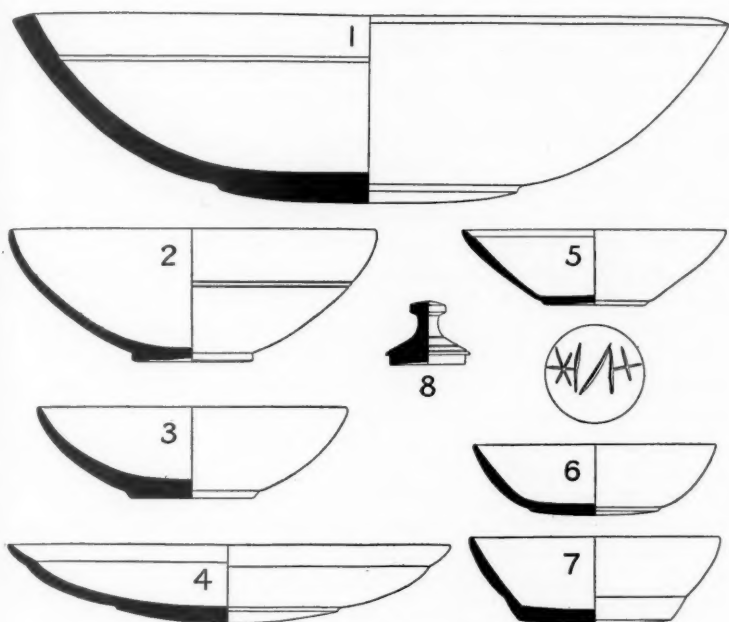


FIG. 2. Wooden Bowls, Bank of England ( $\frac{1}{8}$ ; no. 1,  $\frac{1}{5}$ )

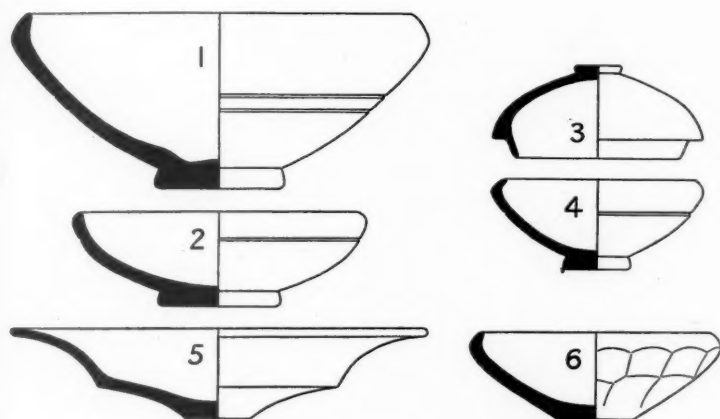


FIG. 3. Wooden Bowls, Hanover ( $\frac{1}{4}$ )

5-7) are small bowls or dishes, the largest 8.8 in. diameter and 3.2 in. high, and the smallest 5.8 in. diameter and 1.7 in. high, such as are mentioned in medieval inventories for use at the table.<sup>1</sup> One bowl (no. 5) has a device cut on the underside of the base, probably the maker's or owner's mark. The shallow vessel (no. 4), 10.6 in. diameter and 1.9 in. high, is probably a milk-skimmer. There is also a bung or stopper (no. 8).

The scarcity of dated wooden vessels of the medieval period justifies mention here of comparative material abroad. In the Provinzial-Museum at Hanover are six wooden bowls (fig. 3) found with pottery ascribed to the fourteenth century in a rubbish pit on the site of the hospital for lepers and plague victims in the Stiftstrasse there. Nos. 1, 2, and 4 are similar in form to the London bowls, the last being provided with a cover (no. 3). The surface of no. 6 has been faceted with a knife after turning. The angular profile of no. 5 suggests that it was made in imitation of a pewter dish.

Finally, the wooden bowls here recorded help in some measure to fill the long blank in the history of wood-turning in this country, illustrated at one end by the famous wood-turnery of the Glastonbury Lake Village, and at the other by survivals to the present time in Wales<sup>2</sup> and elsewhere.

<sup>1</sup> L. F. Salzman, *English Industries of the Middle Ages*, p. 172.

<sup>2</sup> Iorwerth C. Peate, 'Some Welsh Wood-turners and their Trade', *Studies in Regional Consciousness and Environment* (Oxford, 1930), p. 175.



## *A Curious Type of Stone St. John's Head*

BY W. L. HILDBURGH, F.S.A.

IN certain continental museums there are examples of a curious form of detached St. John's Heads, made of a sort of hard alabaster, all so much alike as to indicate that they must all have been carved in one locality (and very probably in one workshop), and within a fairly short period of time. These heads, which seem clearly not to be English in origin—although by some scholars it has been assumed that they were—differ from medieval English alabaster carvings in character and in style, as well as in material.

A typical example of such heads (H. 9 in., W. 7½ in.) is reproduced in pl. LXXXIX, 1 and 2. Bought in Paris, in 1921, without history of any kind attaching to it, it is at present exhibited on loan in the Victoria and Albert Museum. The low forehead, marked immediately above the nose with parallel vertical lines, face narrowing towards the chin, ears set too high and too far forward, somewhat peculiar half-open eyes, open mouth, and the dispositions of the moustache, the beard, and the hair, combine to form an aggregate characteristic of the group and, so far as I am aware, not found outside of it. A back view (see pl. LXXXIX, 2) of the object shows what is perhaps its most curious feature—a feature of at least several, if not indeed all, of the heads of the group—a rectangular opening, in a flattish surface, to a thick-walled cavity which follows very roughly the form of the exterior, and into which the mouth opens directly. This flattish surface, which is small in area, extends but little below the lower edge of the opening, being there cut off by a plane surface at a small angle from the horizontal, which by its form, and because there are in it three deep holes seemingly intended to receive pins, suggests that it was for the purpose of enabling the object to rest upon a block of some kind. Although the matter is presumably void of significance here, it is worth recording that, when the head was bought in Paris, there were distinct traces of mortar—not such gesso as might have served as a base for applied colouring—in the interstices of the beard and the hair, suggesting that it might at some time have been built into a structure of some kind.

In the Hanover Provincial Museum is a head<sup>1</sup> (see pl. xc, 1<sup>2</sup>),

<sup>1</sup> Mentioned by G. Swarzenski, 'Deutsche Alabasterplastik des 15. Jahrhunderts', in *Städtejahrbuch*, i (1920), 170.

<sup>2</sup> Reproduced from a postcard, by courtesy of the Hanover Museum.

in all the above-mentioned respects closely similar to the one reproduced in pl. LXXXIX, obtained at Uslar, near Hildesheim. There is another in the Cinquantenaire Museum in Brussels.<sup>1</sup> In Munich, in the Bavarian National Museum, is a somewhat smaller alabaster head, with features rather more delicately carved, which, although seemingly made by a craftsman other than the one to whom the three above cited may all reasonably be attributed, looks as if it might well have come from the same workshop; its wide mouth, slightly open, seems (though my judgement is based only on a view of the object in its exhibition-case) to disclose a large hollow behind it, and its neck is cut off by a plane a little above the bottom of the beard; when, some years ago, I saw the object, its label attributed it to about the end of the fourteenth century, without suggesting where it might have been made. Exhibited with it was a still smaller head, approximately 5 in. in height, similar to it in material and in character, whose mouth, connecting with a hollow behind it, is open, and whose neck is cut off as in the other examples above mentioned; the label attributed it to the beginning of the fifteenth century.<sup>2</sup>

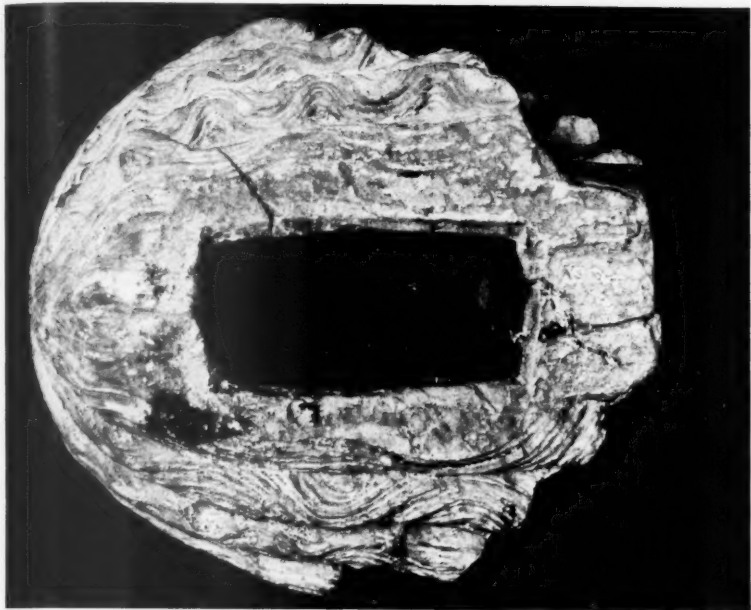
I am inclined to think that heads of this particular kind are almost certainly German in origin, and probably—as considered by the authorities of the Hanover Museum and by Swarzenski<sup>3</sup>—from Westphalia or thereabouts. I doubt that they should be dated so early as on the Munich Museum's labels above referred to; I should suggest, rather, that they were made in, or towards, the second half of the fifteenth century. I know of no good reason for assuming—as I have known to be assumed—that they have had a Flemish origin. In view of the possible suggestion that these heads might be English, it may be pointed out that although sculptured St. John's Heads of the fifteenth century are very common in English alabaster, they occur almost invariably as the principal feature of a certain peculiar class of panels,<sup>4</sup> and only rarely—as in the example reproduced

<sup>1</sup> Cf. J. Destrée, 'Sculptures en albâtre de Nottingham', in *Ann. Soc. d'Archéologie de Bruxelles*, xxiii (1909), fig. 1.

<sup>2</sup> As I have not found these two heads catalogued in *Die Bildwerke des bayerischen Nationalmuseums: Die Bildwerke in Holz und Stein vom XII. Jahrhundert bis 1450*, by P. M. Halm and G. Lill, Augsburg, 1924, I presume that they are now assigned to a period later than 1450. Examples of alabaster heads at Mainz and at Innsbruck are mentioned by Swarzenski (*loc. cit.*) in a context which suggests that they are of the same type as those I have cited; as, however, I know nothing of them beyond his citation, I cannot say how closely they correspond to the heads of our pls. LXXXIX, 1, and xc, 1.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *loc. cit.*

<sup>4</sup> Cf. W. H. St. John Hope, 'On the sculptured alabaster tablets called



Stone St. John's Head, front and back views

2

1



2. St. John's Head, English, 15th century



1. St. John's Head, Hanover Museum

in pl. xc, 2<sup>1</sup>—as isolated objects. Not only do such English heads differ in various particulars from the heads here under discussion (it is, for example, rare to find the details of their eyes carved instead of painted on a smooth surface, while their moustaches, often represented as shaven from their upper lips, have other forms), but no English head, so far as I am aware, has at the back a large hollow into which the mouth opens. There appear, however, certain resemblances between the alabaster heads of the present series and some of the English-carved alabasters, sufficient to suggest the possibility that details of the sculpture of that series may, to some extent, have been influenced by English alabaster carvings, in view of our knowledge that during the fourteenth and the fifteenth centuries English alabaster carvings were exported, seemingly somewhat extensively, to the northern parts of the Continent.

St. John's Heads were quite common in north-western (and especially in Westphalian) German art.<sup>2</sup> Generally they were shown, as in the English alabasters, lying face upward on their dishes, but in some cases they appeared standing upright in the centres. The straight cut across the neck, and (at least in the example reproduced in pl. lxxxix) the three holes for dowel-pins, suggest strongly that the heads of our present series were designed so that they might be set upright in their dishes<sup>3</sup> (though they might perhaps also have been laid horizontal on occasion); so, too, does the carving of the backs of the heads, which seems to be more elaborate and more carefully carried out than if the heads had been intended merely for laying on the bottoms of deep concave dishes. Most German St. John's Heads were, as were their accompanying dishes, made of wood; sometimes one kind of wood was used for the head and another kind for the dish; sometimes the head was of stone. Combinations of a stone head with a wooden dish, attributed to Northern Italy,

St. John's Heads', in *Archaeologia*, lii (1890), 669 *seqq.* For a discussion of a seeming relationship of these tablets (and perhaps also of the popular representations of St. John's Head on its dish) with the course of the year or that of the sun, see W. L. Hildburgh, 'Iconographical Peculiarities in English Medieval Alabaster Carvings', in *Folk-Lore*, xlii (1933), 145 *seqq.*

<sup>1</sup> Reproduced from *Antiq. Journ.* viii (1928), pl. xvii, with description on pp. 62 *seq.* Another head of the kind is in the Ashmolean Museum (cf. *Illustrated Cat. English Medieval Alabaster Work* [Soc. Antiquaries, 1910], London, 1913, no. 9).

<sup>2</sup> For a number of typical examples, cf. F. Witte, *Die Skulpturen der Sammlung Schnütgen in Köln*, Berlin, 1912, pl. 52.

<sup>3</sup> A line-engraving of a wooden head, set vertically in a dish standing on three short legs, is given (fig. 28, on p. 146) in R. Andree's *Votive und Weihegaben des katholischen Volks in Süddeutschland*, Brunswick, 1904.

are known,<sup>1</sup> but I do not now recall any existing complete German example of the kind.

The purposes for which representations of dishes bearing St. John's Heads perhaps were used have been discussed by Witte,<sup>2</sup> although without specific reference to heads of the kind wherewith we are here particularly concerned. He mentions the use, in Germany, of St. John's Heads for the cure of headaches;<sup>3</sup> and, elsewhere, Andree describes<sup>4</sup> a practice at Plessnitz, in Carinthia, in accordance with which people afflicted with chronic headaches set their hats upon a St. John's Head, 'said to have been found in the earth', which is kept in the church there, in order that when, on leaving the church, they put the hats on their own heads, their headaches may be cured. It seems to me not unlikely that the heads of our present series may have been used in some such way.

For the hollowing out of the heads I have as yet obtained no certain explanation. That it was not confined to the stone heads is proved, for example, by a St. John's Head in the Bavarian National Museum, labelled as 'Frankish (?)', about 1450', somewhat resembling our present alabaster heads but differing from them in being rather more than life-size, constructed of pieces of wood, painted, and with eyes (which possibly are not the original ones) of glass, whose details are painted on pieces of parchment within, which has a backless hollow into which the mouth opens.<sup>5</sup> If the dishes containing the heads had to be carried about during some ceremony, practical considerations might well have suggested that the heads be hollowed out so as to make them lighter in weight, and especially so if there were already a large hole in the back made to fit a block provided to keep the head in place on its dish. Again, it may be that the hollowed St. John's Heads were used, as in representations of the heads or the busts of other saints, as reliquaries to contain portions of the mortal remains of St. John. The utilization of St. John's Heads for the relief of headaches suggests still another possibility, for which many (although not exact) parallels might be cited; that is, that objects (such as, for example, strips of cloth) were placed within the hollowed heads in order that they might acquire

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Witte, *op. cit.*, pl. 52, no. 4 (also in *Zeitschr. für christliche Kunst*, xxii [1909], pl. vi, no. 2); *Sale Cat. of L. Minard Collection*, Ghent, 1883, pl. xxv.

<sup>2</sup> *Die Skulpturen der Sammlung Schnütgen . . .*, 50 *seqq.*, section on 'Die Johannisschüssel'.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *ibid.*, 52.

<sup>4</sup> *Op. cit.*, 146.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Halm and Lill, *op. cit.*, fig. 242 and pp. 61 *seq.*



curative properties.<sup>1</sup> The hollow within the head, shown in pl. LXXXIX, widens very considerably beyond its opening, and is blackened, seemingly by smoke, suggesting that at times a small light may have been placed inside the head with a view to its illuminating the stone and shining out through the open mouth. The thickness of the material enclosing the hollow, and its present somewhat opaque quality—which, it has been suggested to me, might perhaps have been considerably modified through an application of oil to the stone—would seem, however, to controvert such a possibility; furthermore, the interior of the Hanover Museum's example is not thus blackened.

The direct connexion of the half-open mouth with the hollow behind it may, I think, reasonably be assumed to be a normal development from the hollowing, because it added verisimilitude to the representation, together with an element of horror which (as evidenced by such things as some of the contemporary German crucifixes, of painted wood, showing great raw wounds and besprinkled all over with drops of blood), seemingly, was favoured by some religiously-inclined persons of the period.

<sup>1</sup> St. John Baptist was invoked for the relief of epilepsy, vertigo, spasms, convulsions, St. Vitus's dance, and infants' illnesses; cf. L. Du Broc de Segange, *Les Saints patrons des corporations et protecteurs*, Paris, 1887, 504.

### *Three Styles of Decoration on Anglo-Saxon Pottery*

By J. N. L. MYRES, F.S.A.

[Read 8th April 1937]

THE types of decoration used on Anglo-Saxon pottery of the pagan period in England have never yet received the detailed analysis which their variety and historical importance deserve. The time has not yet come when a comprehensive study can be attempted, for the great bulk of the pottery concerned either remains unpublished or has been published so inadequately that the student is compelled to go back to the originals before coming to any conclusions. But it does already seem possible to isolate certain of the commoner elements of the decorative schemes employed and to investigate their history and affinities. In the following pages the attempt is prompted by the exhibition and publication of two urns from Lincolnshire and one from London, all of which are in private ownership. These three vessels happen to illustrate three characteristic styles of decoration which seem to be fundamental in this line of study, and the following remarks are offered without any undue dogmatism, in the hope that they may at least make a start in the elucidation of what is undoubtedly the most neglected of all pre-medieval groups of English ceramic material.

The two urns from Lincolnshire (pl. xci) come from the collection of our Fellow Mr. V. B. Crowther-Beynon, and the little vessel from London (pl. xciv, *a*) is the property of Messrs. Lambert & Butler, 141-7 Drury Lane, W.C. 2. Especial thanks are due to Mr. Crowther-Beynon and to Mr. F. W. Butler for permitting the exhibition and publication of their property, and also to our Fellow Mr. C. F. C. Hawkes for kindly drawing my attention to the Drury Lane vessel, when it was brought to the British and Medieval Department of the British Museum for examination and report. I should also record my thanks to the authorities of the University Museum of Archaeology at Cambridge, to those of the Canterbury Museum, and to the Rev. J. W. Corbould-Warren for permission to reproduce photographs of urns in their possession; and also to the Public Library and Museum at Grantham for the loan of blocks for pl. xciii.

Mr. Crowther-Beynon has kindly supplied a note on the history of the two urns from his collection, which runs as follows:

The two Saxon urns from Lincolnshire are part of a collection of antiquities, mostly Roman, formed by a member of a well-known

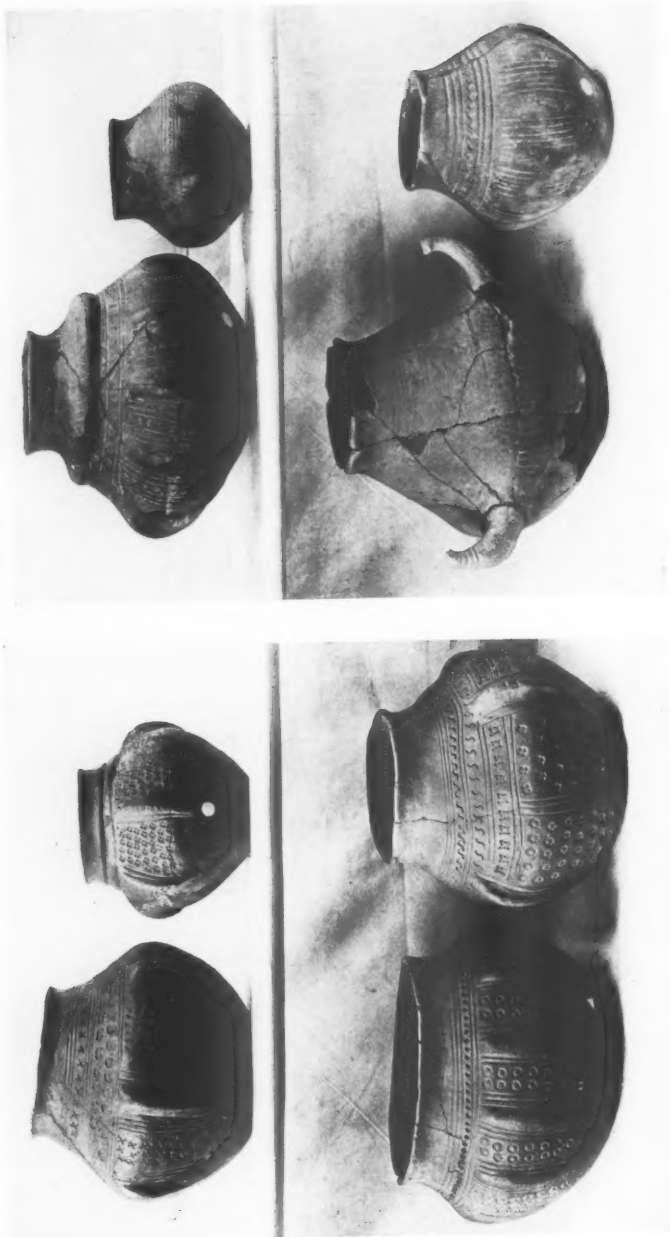


(b) Height 8½ in.



(a) Height 8¼ in.

Two Anglo-Saxon Urns from Lincolnshire



(a)

Urns from Giron and St. John's, Cambridge

(b)

Urns from St. John's, Cambridge

## DECORATION ON ANGLO-SAXON POTTERY 425

Lincolnshire family, the late Captain Arthur Trollope (36th Regt.), fourth son of Sir John Trollope, the sixth holder of a baronetcy created in 1642. Captain Trollope's elder brother, Sir John, seventh Baronet, was in 1868 created Baron Kesteven, which title became extinct on the death without issue of the third Baron. The Baronetcy, however, after the death of some intervening holders, passed successively to the two last surviving sons of Captain Arthur Trollope, the youngest dying as recently as February of this year. In 1845 Captain Arthur Trollope took up his residence at Eastgate House, Lincoln, where he remained until his death in 1880. He was apparently a man of antiquarian tastes, a member of the Royal Archaeological Institute and a local secretary for Lincoln. Between 1848 and 1869, as may be seen from the *Archaeological Journal*, he was a fairly frequent exhibitor and speaker at the meetings of the Institute. It was a period when a good deal of excavation was taking place in Lincoln, owing to building operations, the laying of drains, gas mains, and the like, and since there was no museum in the city till the present one was opened in 1907, the numerous finds which occurred came into the hands of such private collectors as Captain Trollope. Our Director kindly informs me that a few objects were presented by the Captain in 1853 and 1855 to the British Museum, which some ten years later purchased his main collection. That he did not thereupon cease to collect antiquities is evident from the fact that at his death a considerable quantity of Roman pottery and other objects passed under his will to his four unmarried daughters. These ladies then took up their abode with a bachelor brother, the Rev. Andrew Trollope (author of a work on the church plate of Leicestershire) who in 1885 became Rector of Edith Weston, Rutland, a village in which my wife and I resided for nearly twenty years. On Andrew Trollope's death in 1896, the sisters had, of course, to vacate the Rectory with all their belongings, including their father's collection of antiquities. Later they presented part of this collection to the Lincoln Museum, while the remainder, which was sold at Sotheby's, has now been placed by the purchaser on loan at the Lincoln Museum.

When the Misses Trollope were preparing to leave Edith Weston Rectory they showed me a fairly large linen basket half full of broken pottery, mainly, but not entirely, Roman in date. This, they told me, they did not propose to carry away, and they asked me whether I would care to have the contents of the basket, an offer which I accepted. On going over this miscellaneous assortment of material, I found a good deal of Samian ware both plain and decorated, including a fairly large series of potters' marks, together with other Roman pottery, all very fragmentary. There were portions of only two vessels of Saxon date, but it chanced that these turned out to be, when assembled, more nearly complete than any of the rest. The larger and more ornate has recently been receiving the skilled attention of Miss Delia Parker and her partner at the Institute of Archaeology. On going through the Arthur Trollope references in the *Archaeological Journal* I see that the finds exhibited by him are not confined to Lincoln itself, but include

others at various places in the county—Greetwell, Nettleham, Broughton, and so on; while notes of discoveries so far away as Yorkshire and Norfolk are recorded, though in such cases the objects themselves seem to have remained in the possession of the owners of the sites. I have learnt from the Misses Trollope that their father left no notes as to where the various objects were discovered, and it is not possible in the absence of illustrations in the *Archaeological Journal* to identify individual pieces. I fear, therefore, that it is unjustifiable to make any definite assertion as to the provenance of these two urns, though there is a strong probability that they were found either in Lincoln itself or in the county.

One fact only need be added to this account. There is in the Lincoln Museum an Anglo-Saxon urn, which is recorded to have been found in the Eastgate, Lincoln, about 1850. Now this urn, like those here described, came originally from Captain Trollope's collections, from which it passed first on loan to the Stamford Institution, and thence in 1910 by gift from the Misses Trollope to the Lincoln Museum.<sup>1</sup> The fact that this urn seems definitely to have been found in the Eastgate, coupled with the fact of Captain Trollope's residence at Eastgate House, considerably increases the probability that Mr. Crowther-Beynon's urns (the only others recorded in the Captain's collections) also came from this site. If they did, then it is probable that an extensive cemetery once existed in the Eastgate, Lincoln; and the inference that I have tentatively drawn elsewhere from the apparent absence of pagan Anglo-Saxon remains in the city must be abandoned.<sup>2</sup>

The larger of the urns (pl. xci, *a*) is  $8\frac{1}{4}$  in. high, about  $9\frac{1}{2}$  in. in maximum diameter, 5 in. wide at the rim, and nearly 4 in. across at the base. It is formed of smooth dark paste, with a black polish, and is unusually regular and well made for a vessel of its type. The ornamentation consists of three plain raised cordons, each demarcated top and bottom by light lines on the sloping neck, and below this a zone of decoration which includes bosses, firm lines and stamps covering all the rest of the upper half above the maximum diameter: the lower half is plain. The main decorative zone is divided into four panels by four not very prominent hollow slashed vertical bosses, each of which is flanked by a vertical line and a vertical band of four stamps. These stamps are 0.6 in. in diameter, and show a sunk circle with a raised cross and raised quarters in it. The panels proper, which are divided from these bands of stamps by two vertical

<sup>1</sup> I am indebted to Mr. F. T. Baker, Curator of the Lincoln Museum, for information on the history of this vessel.

<sup>2</sup> *Roman Britain and the English Settlements* (1936), pp. 414-16.

lines, contain a small circular hollow boss in the centre, with a line round it, surrounded by six stamps—in one panel there are seven—arranged like a rosette, the whole panel being enclosed by two circular lines. The stamps in the panels are 0.65 in. in diameter, and themselves consist of an eight-point cogwheel rosette with a raised centre. The whole design is carried out with unusual precision and regularity, and the vessel clearly belongs to the class of deliberate masterpieces, a class very rare in early Anglo-Saxon ceramics.

It is also of unusual interest, not only because it bears all the signs of early date and of close contact with the continental prototypes, but also because it suggests an easy course of development whereby the linear and bossed designs of the German *Buckelurnen* were converted in England into panel style ornament largely carried out by means of stamps.

The early features of the pot consist not only in the bossed ornament, especially the combination of long and circular bosses and the slashing on the former, but more particularly in the use of the rosette design in the panels, and in the character of the stamps employed. The use of rosette designs is exceedingly common on continental Saxon vessels of the period immediately preceding the migration to England.<sup>1</sup> Normally they are carried out with finger-tipping rather than with stamps, but where stamped ornament is employed the stamps are unusually large, and are also themselves often of rosette form, and used in place of the finger-tip rosette. Both these features can be seen on the Lincolnshire pot where the use of a cogwheel rosette stamp more than half an inch across places it as certainly in the earliest phase of the invasions as does the use of a rosette design in the main scheme of decoration. The usual size of stamps employed in England in the period in which such ornament was most popular varies from a quarter to half an inch across. It is mainly on pots of obviously early type that larger stamps occur. A good instance is the well-known vessel from Newark-on-Trent, now at Hull,<sup>2</sup> (fig. 1, *a*) of which the whole design is obviously related to our Lincolnshire vessel (like it of Humbrenian origin) with its raised collar, slashed vertical bosses (in this case trebled), and exceptionally large rosette stamps arranged, as in our vessel, in the form of a rosette around a central boss. This

<sup>1</sup> See, e.g., A. Plettke, *Ursprung und Ausbreitung der Angels und Sachsen* (1920), pls. 32 and 36.

<sup>2</sup> Also illustrated by G. Baldwin Brown, *Arts in Early England*, iv (1915), pls. cxxxvi, 7, cxxxvii, 2; and in *Hull Museum Publications*, 66 and 67, pp. 68-9, and pl. xv, fig. 32.



Newark pot can hardly be later than the middle of the fifth century, and is typologically a little earlier than the one under discussion.

The comparative rarity with which rosette ornament of any kind occurs in England, as contrasted with its extreme frequency abroad, makes it a fairly certain sign of early date, for it was clearly soon forgotten by those who migrated to England. It is very unlikely that any English examples were made after the end of the fifth century. Most of them, as in the Newark and Lincolnshire cases, have the rosette carried out in stamps, but there are one or two instances, as one from Caistor-by-Norwich<sup>1</sup> (fig. 1, *b*) of the typologically older method of fingertipping. This Caistor urn would certainly be placed in the fourth century by continental scholars, who have paid too little attention to the chronological importance of the English series, but in any case we can hardly put it later than the middle of the fifth.

Apart from these decorative details, which, as we have seen, make an early date for the Lincolnshire vessel fairly certain, the general design of the pot can be very closely paralleled among the fifth-century *Buckelurnen* of the Saxon continental area. On a specimen illustrated by Plettke from Wester Wana, for example,<sup>2</sup> the exact decorative scheme of our urn from Lincolnshire may be seen. The triple collar and combination of slashed and vertical bosses are identical, and it is only the presence of a foot, the absence of stamped ornament, and the greater emphasis of the larger bosses which show that the continental vessel is rather the prototype than the contemporary of the English urn.

The differences between them are indeed highly significant of the new trend which came over Saxon fashions in pottery after the migration to England. The elaborate bossings of the continental *Buckelurnen* soon give way to simpler designs, fingertipping and slashing are replaced by a great development of stamped ornament, and a general rectangularity of pattern succeeds to the curvilinear motives of the fourth century. Bosses, where they are retained, are eventually used mainly for the vertical demarcation of panels of linear or stamped ornament. Pl. xcii, *a*, shows four typical examples from Girton and St. John's (Cambridge) of this panel style which reached its fullest development in the Fenland settlement area. It may not be too fanciful to suggest that in our urn the first stage of this

<sup>1</sup> Unpublished: in the collection of Rev. J. W. Corbould-Warren by whose permission it is here illustrated.

<sup>2</sup> Plettke, *op. cit.*, pl. 35, 8.



(a)



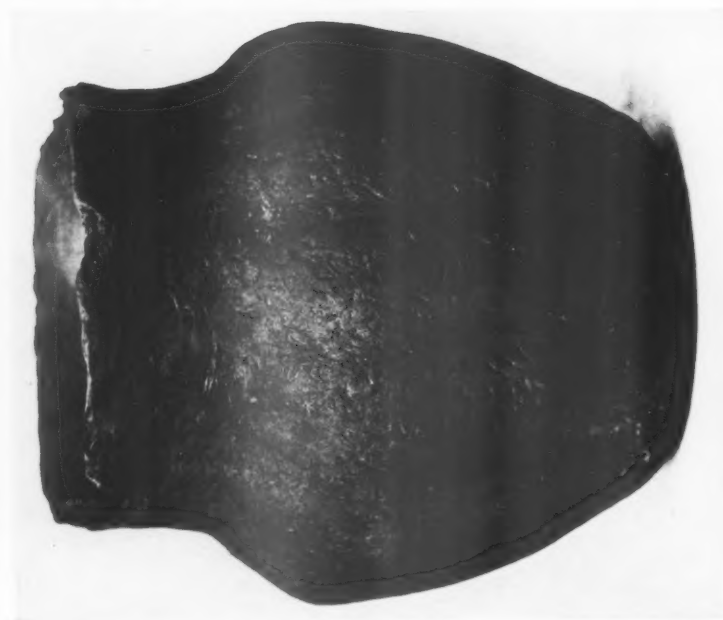
(b)

Two Anglo-Saxon Urns from Hough-on-the-Hill, Lincs.

*By permission of the Grantham Museum*



(b)  
Anglo-Saxon vessel from Canterbury  
(Height  $8\frac{1}{2}$  in.)

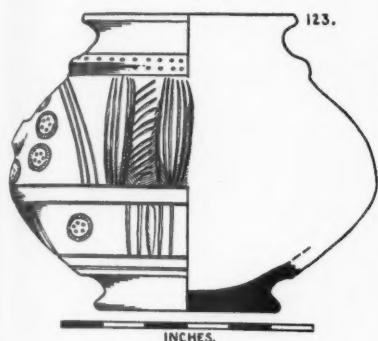


(a)  
Anglo-Saxon vessel from Drury Lane, London  
(Height  $4\frac{1}{2}$  in.)

## DECORATION ON ANGLO-SAXON POTTERY 429

process is already to be seen: the bosses are inconspicuous, stamped ornament with two different stamps is prominent, and the vertical zones of stamps on each side of the circular panel seem already to be encroaching at the latter's expense.

It would not be relevant to discuss now the different varieties of panel style ornamentation as they occur in England. Local



(a)



(b)

FIG. 1. Urns (a) from Newark-on-Trent; (b) from Caistor-by-Norwich

differences of treatment can certainly be observed, and some of these are of considerable interest. But it is just worth noting, in conclusion, that at least two other instances of a circular treatment of the panels come, like the urn under discussion, from Lincolnshire sites: one is a highly peculiar urn from Hough-on-the-Hill, now at Grantham,<sup>1</sup> (pl. xciii, a) and the other is a fragmentary specimen from Ancaster, now at Lincoln. The treatment of the panel is different in each case, and neither shows normal stamped decoration, but the occurrence of these three examples of an unusual variation in such a limited area may be due to something other than coincidence: they may all be reminiscent of the same original element in the evolution of English panel style ornamentation.

The panel style has, however, more than one root in the continental past of the Anglo-Saxon invaders, and the second Lincolnshire urn (pl. xci, b) provides a convenient opportunity of examining its history. The vessel is defective in the rim, but would originally have been some  $8\frac{1}{2}$  in. high. It is  $7\frac{1}{2}$  in. wide at

<sup>1</sup> Also illustrated in *Grantham Public Library and Museum Sixth Annual Report* (1928), no. 74.

the high shoulder, and its well-made base is  $3\frac{1}{4}$  in. across. The decoration consists of four horizontal incised lines on the neck, and nine hollow shoulder bosses, the spaces between them being filled with panels of four vertical lines. The fabric is hard and dark, with a smoothed surface, the walls rather thick; and the whole vessel is regularly made and well turned out, though it is not so deliberately ornamental as the other one.

Decoration of this exact type is exceedingly common both on the Continent and in England. Examples could be quoted from the Frisian *terpen*,<sup>1</sup> from the great Saxon cemeteries between the Elbe and the Weser,<sup>2</sup> and from farther north in the Anglian area in Schleswig. It is, however, in this latter region that the style is most common: it occurs, with variations, over and over again among the great mass of pottery in the Kiel Museum from cemeteries in the homeland of the continental Angles. Vessels with a line of shoulder bosses and a zone of horizontal grooving or linear ornament on the neck above are indeed as characteristic of Anglian decoration in the Migration period as the curvilinear styles, which culminate in the *Buckelurnen*, are typical of the Saxon area, and the same basic treatment is applied to vessels of many different shapes: the commonest forms are bowls more or less wide in the mouth, taller vessels, with high conical necks frequently covered with horizontal corrugations or groovings—another typically Anglian device—or high-shouldered jars like our Lincolnshire piece. In England the traditionally Anglian areas are full of vessels of this type closely parallel to those of the cemeteries in Schleswig. At Caistor-by-Norwich, for example, it occurs on bowl forms with typical Anglian corrugation; and on vessels with tall conical necks.<sup>3</sup> It occurs again at Sancton, E. Yorks., on a high-shouldered jar of a type somewhat similar to our Lincolnshire vessel,<sup>4</sup> but once more in the corrugated technique rather than with sharply incised lines. Examples of the same general scheme occur also at Heworth and the Mount, York,<sup>5</sup> at Kirton-in-Lindsey,<sup>6</sup> Hough-on-the-Hill, and Caythorpe in Lincolnshire,<sup>7</sup> at N. Luffenham (Rutland),<sup>8</sup> Baginton (Warwicks.),<sup>9</sup> Girtton and St.

<sup>1</sup> e.g., from Hoogeteintum and Beetgum (Leeuwarden Museum): also from Wageningen (Leiden Museum).

<sup>2</sup> e.g., from Blumental (Bremen Museum): Wehden bei Lehe and Hassel (Hanover Museum).

<sup>3</sup> Corbould-Warren collection.

<sup>4</sup> In the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.

<sup>5</sup> In the Yorkshire Museum, York.

<sup>6</sup> In the British Museum.

<sup>8</sup> In Mr. Crowther-Beynon's collection.

<sup>7</sup> In the Grantham Museum.

<sup>9</sup> In a private collection.

## DECORATION ON ANGLO-SAXON POTTERY 431

John's (Cambridge),<sup>1</sup> Holywell Row,<sup>2</sup> and Waldringfield,<sup>3</sup> in W. Suffolk, and many other Anglian or partly Anglian sites.

But the fusion of Angle and Saxon traditions which preceded and accompanied the invasions of England, was bound to lead to the intrusion of Saxon stamped ornamentation on to a form so well suited to receive it, and this may have been already taking place both in the Elbe-Weser area and in Frisia perhaps as early as the date of the migrations to England. In England, at any rate, the process can be well traced; for example, among urns from St. John's, Cambridge, in the heart of the Fensland area, where Angle and Saxon influences were thoroughly mixed. On pl. xcii, *b*, on the two lower vessels, though stamped ornament is already present among the horizontal lines on the neck, the panels between the shoulder bosses remain linear (we may ignore for the moment the fantastic animal heads which have sprouted from the shoulder-bosses of the left-hand urn: its basic design is exactly the same as the other). But in the upper two a single vertical line of stamps has found its way into the panels of lines between the bosses. There is a remarkable urn from Hough-on-the-Hill, Lincs., now at Grantham (pl. xciii, *b*)<sup>4</sup> in which this intrusion of stamped ornament into an essentially linear design can be seen actually taking place, as it were, during the manufacture of the pot. It is a large urn, with high neck and wide shoulder, decorated with sixteen bosses. Fourteen of the panels between them are filled simply with from four to eight vertical lines in the usual Anglian style as shown on the plate, but in one of the other two a single line of stamps, and in the second a double line of two different stamps, has been used, with two vertical lines on each side in each case, as in the vessels from St. John's on pl. xcii, *b*. Once this intrusion of stamped ornament has begun it is of course a very simple transition to the fully developed stamped panel style, as shown on pl. xcii, *a*, in which such ornament has forced back the vertical lines to the edges of the panel, and in later examples has sometimes crowded them out altogether, and even run riot over the intervening bosses.

The chronology of this whole development is at present very obscure and is likely to remain so. In spite of the efforts of

<sup>1</sup> In the Cambridge Museum.

<sup>2</sup> T. C. Lethbridge, *Recent Excavations in Anglo-Saxon Cemeteries in Cambs. and Suffolk* (1931), pl. 1, 60.

<sup>3</sup> In the British Museum.

<sup>4</sup> Also illustrated in *Grantham Public Library and Museum Sixth Annual Report* (1928), no. 78.

and ribbing of this kind are common enough: they turn up on most sites that have produced pottery of Anglo-Saxon character in Holland, round the Rhine mouths, and farther south again in Belgium at such places as Anderlecht, and St. Gilles-les-Termonde.<sup>1</sup> Since these are regions bordering on the Roman Empire it is highly probable that the prevalence of this type of decoration here is the result of direct borrowing from Roman glass- and silver-ware, for on both this ribbing and fluting are extremely common, and both are known to have been highly prized by the barbarians. What could be more natural than that they should take over and imitate on their own pottery a form of ornament which was familiar enough on the glass or metal vessels of Roman provincial manufacture which they especially valued? Thus the more frequent occurrence of such decoration in regions especially subject to cultural influence from within the Empire and its rarity in the Anglo-Saxon homelands farther east receives an easy explanation.

On fig. 2 are some examples of this style of decoration from sites in Holland. In the top row it is shown on vessels with well-made feet, which must belong to the earliest phase of the migration period proper, and should probably be dated in the fifth century, while below it appears on less ambitious and typologically later forms more analogous to the Drury Lane vessel. I have suggested in the sequence from left to right here a possible line of degeneration through the sixth century to the forms on the right which certainly belong to the seventh century or later. It is, however, possible that by this time other influences besides mere decadence were at work in the shortening of the fluting to a series of hollows on the belly of the pot: notably perhaps the originally Anglian trick of multiple shoulder bosses which has been discussed already in connexion with the second vessel from Lincolnshire.<sup>2</sup>

When we turn from the continent to England we find, as always, clear examples of the mainland styles along with others showing special insular developments caused by the fusion of different influences and the emergence of local hybrid fashions. One such hybrid type which has, however, continental analogies, occurs with especial frequency in the Cambridge region and on the upper Thames: in this the fluted ornament, which is our primary concern, has become inextricably confused

<sup>1</sup> Pottery now in the *Musées du Cinquante-naire*, Brussels.

<sup>2</sup> The rarity of the later varieties of this series in England is a curious fact for which I have no explanation. They do, however, occur: witness the striking set from Market Overton (Rutland) now in the School Museum at Oakham.



# DECORATION ON ANGLO-SAXON POTTERY 435

with a lengthening of the Anglian shoulder boss and the development of panel ornament: the bosses or ribs from the shoulder to the base are sometimes emphasized and sometimes entirely replaced by groups of vertical lines or rows of stamps

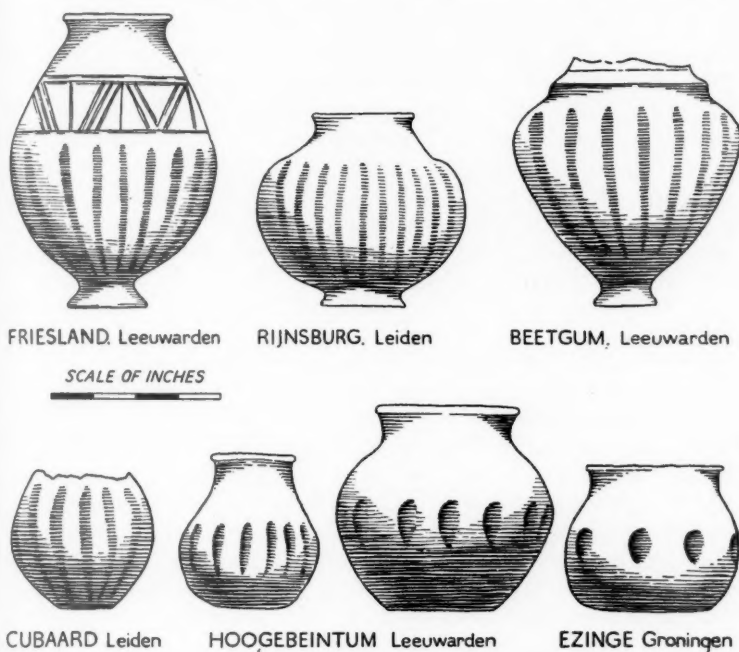


FIG. 2. Fluted pottery from Holland

covering all the lower part of the pot. Vessels of this general type occur at Girton, St. John's, and Little Wilbraham in the Cambridge region,<sup>1</sup> and with especial frequency on the Upper Thames as at Brighthampton,<sup>2</sup> Abingdon,<sup>3</sup> Frilford,<sup>4</sup> Reading,<sup>5</sup> and an example recently found at Wallingford.<sup>6</sup> The distribution of this style and its variations deserves further study, for it may be found to constitute an important link in the chain of evidence which can be used to support our Fellow Mr. E. T.

<sup>1</sup> Cambridge and British Museums.

<sup>2</sup> *Archaeologia*, xxxviii (1859), graves 24 and 27: now in the Ashmolean Museum.

<sup>3</sup> E. T. Leeds and D. B. Harden, *An Anglo-Saxon Cemetery at Abingdon, Berks* (1936), pl. 1, 8.

<sup>4</sup> Ashmolean Museum.

<sup>5</sup> Reading Museum.

<sup>6</sup> In private hands.

Leeds's claim that the parentage of the West Saxon settlements on the upper Thames is to be sought in the Cambridge region.<sup>1</sup>

On the lower Thames, however, and in Kent, as well as occasionally in the Fenland area, the simple fluted and ribbed vessels parallel to those of Holland and Belgium turn up again, both in the more elaborate early forms and in the simpler later types. On pl. xciv, *b*, is a vessel from Canterbury, now in the Canterbury Museum, with a narrow pedestal foot, and body entirely covered with vertical grooving. It must belong to the earliest phase of Teutonic settlement in Kent, and stands at the head of a series of degenerating examples of a similar technique. Another vessel, almost its double, and also from Kent, is now in the Mayer Collection at Liverpool.<sup>2</sup> Other variations on the same theme occur among the early Saxon-Frisian pottery from the Kentish sites of Easden, Sarre, and Northfleet.

Much closer both in style, and doubtless in date also, to the Drury Lane pot are, however, a number of little vessels from sites in Surrey, all of which have the same vague fluting or ribbing as their only attempt at decoration. Such are a pair of little pots from Banstead, and a little bowl from Guildford.<sup>3</sup> The Guildford vessel may owe something to the Anglian tradition of shoulder bosses, but it certainly owes as much to the fluted decoration which dominates the other three. Another little Surrey vessel from Limpsfield, also now at Guildford, has fluting of exactly the same type although in every other respect it is, as a loose label in our Director's handwriting inside it rightly tells us, 'more Romano-British in style'.

In spite of the differences in fabric—the little vessels from Surrey are all highly burnished—it is clearly to this Surrey series that the Drury Lane pot belongs. Its faint and half-hearted ribbing seems almost the last gasp of the style which began with the close imitation of late Roman silver or glass vessels, still so obvious on pieces like that from Canterbury which I should place in the fifth century. Yet it has little in common either in shape or fabric with wares of the later Dark Ages. On stylistic grounds it should perhaps be put near the end of the pagan period.

It will be clear from the foregoing remarks that to attempt the analysis of any decorative design employed on Anglo-Saxon

<sup>1</sup> *History*, x (1915), 97; *Antiq. Journ.* xiii (1933), 229.

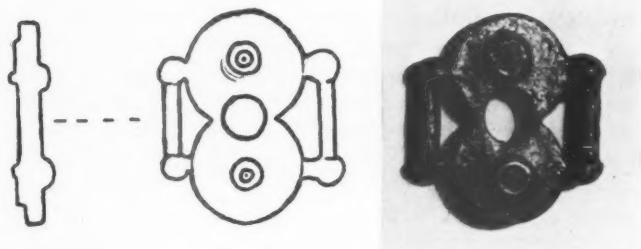
<sup>2</sup> Illustrated by Mr. Leeds in *Early Anglo-Saxon Art and Archaeology* (1936), pl. xliii *a*.

<sup>3</sup> All in the Guildford Museum.

pottery is no easy matter. Even so simple a development as panel-style ornament seems to have several very different roots: while to distinguish the proportions in which the tradition of vertical fluting and the tradition of multiple shoulder-bosses influenced the character of the ornament on many vessels may often seem a hopeless task. But the confusion of distinct decorative elements already taking place on the continent by the fifth century, and even more obvious in the later English material, is itself a matter of historical interest: it symbolizes in a rather striking way the social and tribal confusion which the age of the Anglo-Saxon migrations witnessed. And it may even be that with a clearer perception than exists at present of the parts taken by some individual strands in this tangled skein of ceramic ornament may come also a surer understanding of the historical forces which lie behind. It is in that hope that this paper has been written.

## Notes

*Belt link from Old Sarum, near Salisbury.*—Mr. F. Stevens, F.S.A., Local Secretary, sends the following note: This belt link would seem to date from the Early Iron Age (probably first century A.D.), being one of a class of objects found in the south of England, e.g. Glastonbury (Bulleid and Gray, *The Glastonbury Lake Village*, i, 228, pl. XLIV, E 262), and Hunsbury (*Archaeological Journal*, xciii, 64, pl. II B). That from Old



Belt link from Old Sarum ( $\frac{1}{2}$ )

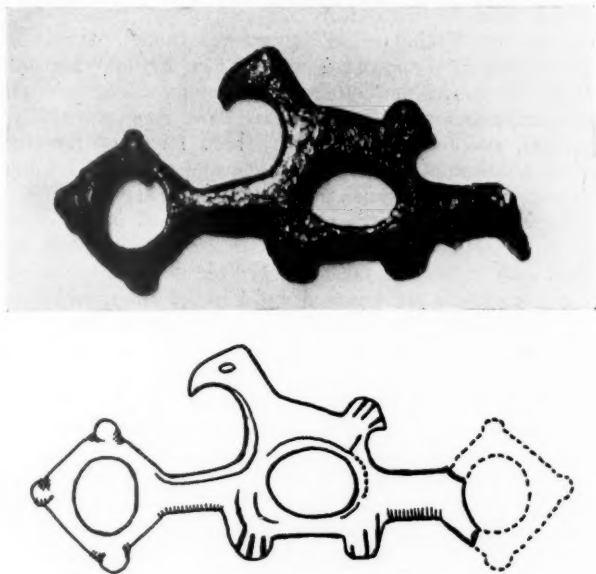
Sarum is of bronze, and has the appearance of having been gilt. It has a central perforation; the front is ornamented with raised rings with a dot at the centre, while the back is flat and plain. It was no doubt found among the castle debris, but is not specially mentioned in the *Excavation Reports*. It is now in the museum in the postern tower on the site. Small sherds of pottery may also be of Early Iron Age date, and among the collection are three iron fibulae.

*A horse trapping from Old Sarum.*—Mr. F. Stevens also contributes the following: This seems to be another form of the so-called cheek-piece of a bridle bit (or bit-guard) which, though unusual, is clearly related to the type discussed by Mr. Reginald A. Smith, F.S.A., in his paper entitled 'Sidelights on Italian Bow-pullers', in *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries*, xxix, 24 (1916-17). The specimen, which is now in the Salisbury Museum, was found by Colonel W. Hawley, F.S.A., during the excavations at Old Sarum Castle, 1910 to 1914, but there seems to be no exact information as to when or where it was found.

The central part appears to have been cast in a mould, or stamped out of a sheet of bronze 4 mm. thick; the details are roughly picked out with incised lines, while the surface may have been gilt. The central hole is cut straight through, while the lateral rings are bevelled at the back. One ring is broken off, and the other is bent.

Mr. Reginald Smith says that it is obviously related to his figure 13 (*loc. cit.* above), and that 'the hole in the centre is no doubt to take the "mouth", probably of two joined bars, ending in loose rings, which would lock the "mouth" and the cheekpiece together', in which case the lateral

rings would probably be non-functional. This cannot have been the way in which the other English objects illustrated by Mr. Smith were used, for they have no central hole. Moreover, in the Lundby specimen (fig. 13, mentioned above), the terminal rings are above and below, while the ornament on the Old Sarum specimen, and on one found with Roman



Horse trapping from Old Sarum ( $\frac{1}{2}$ )

remains near Basingstoke (*Proceedings of the Hants Field Club*, 1936, xiii, 179), shows that these two, at all events, were placed with the bar and rings horizontal. These two also appear to be the only representatives of the group to bear zoomorphic decoration. What exactly is intended in the Old Sarum piece is not clear. The head and 'tail' suggest a bird, yet the feet contradict this. It seems unlikely that the head could be intended for a horse, and if it were, the tail would probably not be docked in early times. It may, however, be that the 'tail' and 'feet' are merely decorative, intended to balance the head. There are, of course, the Roman cock brooches, but in very different technique.

Attention may be called to the example from Casterley Camp, Wilts. (*Devizes Museum Catalogue*, ii, 1934, pl. xxx, 1, E 80), which, according to the description on p. 106 is of iron, plated with tin. 'The under side and the two sections of the bar connecting the terminal rings are not plated. It would seem, therefore, to have been intended to show only the upper surface, and to have had bands or rings of some kind round these portions of the bar; the plating on the inner edges of the terminals

is more worn than that on the outer edges.' This throws some light on the method of attachment to the harness, both of this specimen and, by analogy, of the other English examples. The Old Sarum piece may have been employed in the same way, in which case the central hole might possibly have been the setting for a coloured boss.

It has been shown by Mr. Reginald Smith that this type of horse trapping ranges in date from the first century A.D. in England (Polden Hill hoard) to the tenth-century Viking period in Sweden (Lundby). It may be noted that he does not ascribe any of the then known English material to the later period. As regards the Old Sarum specimen, neither of these dates is impossible; for there were several Early Iron Age settlements in the neighbourhood, and actual remains have been found on the site. Old Sarum was a nodal point for Roman roads; and there is a tradition that in 1003 Svein plundered the town in revenge for the massacre of St. Brice.

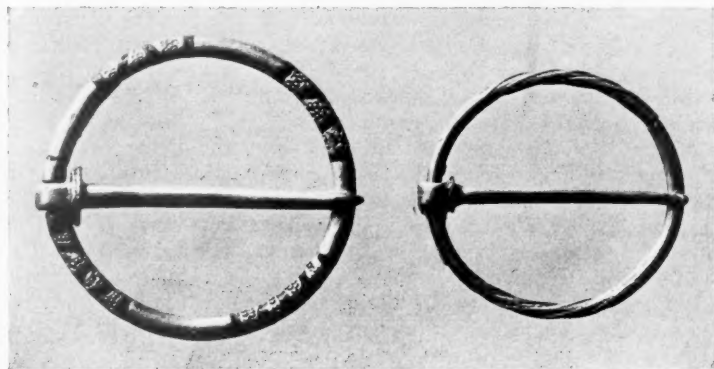
All the evolutionary evidence adduced by Mr. Smith is against an Early Iron Age date for this piece, with its central hole in place of the high boss, which tends to suggest the latest possible date. The only feature which is continuous is the knobbed and bevelled rings, which, though looking so distinctive, are, as shown by the Polden Hill and Lundby specimens, only a curious trait which persisted for a thousand years. The central hole with the design around it, seems only to have been found in one of the four Lundby specimens, unless the unique Pimperne specimen (Smith's fig. 12) is considered a variant. The technique of the almost flat animal, instead of moulding, also suggests a northern origin, rather than Romano-British, but the Pimperne piece may also be compared for engraved design; yet, on consideration of other finds in the Pimperne district, that specimen is more likely to be Romano-British than Viking.

However, Dr. R. E. M. Wheeler, F.S.A., while inclining to a date in the Viking period for the Old Sarum piece, has pointed out that so many of these Scandinavian things are in the direct line of sequence from La Tène prototypes, that it is very difficult, in the case of the less elaborate examples, to say to what particular date they belong (cf. the snaffle bits, illustrated in his *London and the Vikings*, London Museum Catalogue, no. 1, fig. 20, and note on p. 42). Possibly a Romano-British date for the Old Sarum specimen is the least open to objection in the present state of our knowledge, and in this connexion it may be recalled that the Old Sarum excavations produced a pair of fine bronze tweezers of Roman type, and several other objects of that period.

My thanks are due to those of our Fellows whose opinions have been quoted above, and to others whom I have consulted; also to Miss Gullick, my Assistant in the Salisbury Museum, for her careful review of the evidence. Any further light that can be thrown on this problem piece will be welcomed.

*Medieval Treasure Trove.*—In trenching 6 ft. below the laundry of the Coventry and Warwickshire Hospital at Coventry in April last, a workman came upon a hoard of 144 silver coins and the two annular brooches of silver here illustrated. The Coroner's jury declared them

Treasure Trove, and the brooches were purchased for the British Museum, only six of the coins being retained. The date of deposit deduced from the coins, mostly of Edward I, was about 1286, which is one of the few fixed points in the evolution of this type. The larger specimen is 1.8 in. in diameter, and the hoop is of circular section, the front inlaid with niello on a pounced ground. The collar below the pin head is characteristic of medieval specimens, as opposed to those of pre-Conquest times.



Silver brooches from Coventry ( $\frac{1}{2}$ )

The second brooch is much slighter and must have been used only to hold light fabrics. It has a diameter of  $1\frac{1}{2}$  in. with a circular section, and on opposite sides of the hoop are two lengths of cable pattern, the collared pin being rather spoon-shaped at the point. This fortunate association of coins and brooches will inspire confidence in the chronology of the British Museum series.

*Jutish buckle-plate.*—Mr. O. G. S. Crawford, F.S.A., contributes the following: In the April number of this *Journal*, p. 199, it is stated that the Jutish buckle-plate there described was found 'during the making of the road between West Meon and Privett about 1842'. Mr. Frank Ford, grandson of the discoverer, has most kindly given me some further information about the matter, from which it appears that the 'West Meon' above was an error for 'West Meon Hut'. The find, therefore, was made somewhere east of West Meon Hut (Hants. 51 NE.) and the road in question was the road from Winchester to Bramdean past West Meon Hut and so on up the valley to Petersfield.

Mr. Ford's grandfather's concession did not extend east of the point where the road from Privett on the north joins this road at spot-level 403 (Hants 52 NW.).

The site of the discovery has also been described as being between Privett and East Meon, so it was probably made in the eastern portion of this stretch of road.



On consulting my six-inch Ordnance maps I find that, at a point a little over a quarter of a mile ENE. of the railway bridge, I have recorded in 1932 the discovery of a stony mound on the north side of the road which I regarded as probably the remains of a round barrow. This mound impinges on the road which appears to have cut away the southern portion of it. It lies actually in the parish of East Meon, close to an angle in the parish boundary of Privett, a few yards NE. of bench-mark 383.7 (Hants 52 NW.). That this may be actually the site of the discovery is borne out by the fact that it is said to have been made 'in a small cutting'. Now, as the road runs along the bottom of the valley for the whole of its course, cuttings would be unnecessary, and could only occur if some obstruction like a barrow or lynchet were met with. It may have been a secondary interment in an older mound.

It is satisfactory to have reduced the probable site of the discovery of this important find to within such narrow limits, and our thanks are due to Mr. Ford for the trouble he has taken in this matter.

It may also be mentioned that in the immediate vicinity of West Meon Hut there are no less than eleven certain round barrows not marked on the Ordnance maps; one of them appears to be a long one, though it would be impossible to say whether this is so or not without excavation. Another large group occurs immediately south of Brockwood Park (Hants 51 NE.). All these were discovered by the present writer.

*Late medieval Flemish inlaid tiles in England.*—Mr. J. Ward Perkins contributes the following note: The great majority of the red and yellow inlaid tiles which were so generally employed for the flooring of our medieval buildings were of English, and in most cases of local, fabrication. Originally the technique was probably introduced from northern France. But there is no indication that the tiles themselves were ever imported; nor is there even any certain instance of the use of the same stamp in both countries. An exception can, however, be made in the case of a limited group of tiles that were imported from the Netherlands in the latter part of the fifteenth, and early years of the sixteenth, centuries. Of those here figured (pl. xcv), numbers 1, 2, 4, and 5 are now in the Guildhall Museum and are here reproduced by kind permission of the Curator; the exact find-spots are unknown, but they are presumably from London. Number 3, from Crutched Friars, is in the London Museum.

Numbers 1 and 4 are common in both northern and southern Holland (Vis und De Geus, *Altholländische Fliesen*, i, pls. 1 and 11 a; ii, p. 3; *Dutch Tiles of the XV-XVIII Century*, collection of Eelco M. Vis (New York, American Art Ass., 1927), no. 311). The full inscription upon number 1 reads '*Alle dinc heeft sijnen tijt*'. Upon the four tiles which complete the design of number 4 appears the tag:

*Die tijt is cort  
Die doot is snel  
Wacht u vā sonde  
Soe doedi wel*

('Time is short and swift comes death; beware of sin and keep your



Dutch tiles in England



Tile from Leeuwarden, in the Friesch Museum.  $8\frac{3}{4}$  in. square

troth'). The latter is the only one of this group hitherto recorded from outside London. Examples are to be found at Eltham Palace, and at Halnaker House, Sussex (Nichols, *Decorative Tiles*, no. 58), and were formerly in Chalgrave Church near Dunstable, Beds (F. Renaud, *Tiles*, ii, 263, MS. in the library of the Society of Antiquaries). Number 5, a deservedly well-known specimen of the tile-wright's craft (Victoria and Albert Museum, *Exhibition of English Medieval Art*, 1930, pl. 99, no. 956), is another certain importation. Plate xcvi shows a tile now in the Friesch Museum at Leeuwarden from a monastery in that town. Dr. Boeles, to whom I am indebted for the photograph here reproduced, informs me that there is a similar tile at Bruges; and it was probably from the latter area that the tiles were exported both to London and to Leeuwarden.

Numbers 2 and 3 are here included upon the less cogent evidence of paste, glaze, and colour, in which they closely resemble those already considered, while differing, particularly in their pale brown and cream colour, from the locally made inlaid tiles of London. And while number 2 bears a pattern to which close parallels can be found both in England and France, that of number 3 falls markedly outside the somewhat restricted range of English tile-design. They are therefore probably, but not certainly, of Flemish origin. Another tile, which may for the same reasons belong to this group, is preserved in the Victoria and Albert Museum (no. 1327-1892); it came from the old Houses of Parliament.

As early as 1375 there are records of the importation of Flemish tiles. In that year John Digges, Rector of Bishopsbourne, directed in his will (*Arch. Cant.* xl, 19) that he was 'to be buried in the chancel of the church of Berham [Barham, near Canterbury]. My executors are to buy Flanders tiles [*Tegulas de Flandres*] to pave the said chancel.' Some fifty years ago Barham Church was drastically restored, and the chancel was completely repaved. It has always been believed that on this occasion the original chancel flooring was relaid in the north transept, where there is a large collection of plain and inlaid medieval tiles. The available information, however, carefully collected by Col. R. G. Clarke, seems to show that the tiles in the transept were already in their present position before 1880. Moreover, although in the main a uniform series of late fourteenth- or early fifteenth-century date, they belong to types which are widely distributed in London and north Kent, and are indubitably of local manufacture. It seems that the churchwardens did their work too well, and that John Digge's tiles have perished. Alternatively, as a single tile relaid in the chancel, in design identical with some of those in the north transept, would perhaps suggest, it may be that his executors considered that tiles of local manufacture would sufficiently meet the case. Thus, while it is clear that Flanders tiles were known in England in the late fourteenth century, their identification remains uncertain.

Inlaid tiles were sporadically employed in Holland, notably at Utrecht, as early as the beginning of the fourteenth century. They were, however, clearly not then made for export, and the present group belongs at the earliest to the latter part of the fifteenth century. They are therefore chiefly of interest as the forerunners of that invasion of Flemish ideas and

craftsmen which was to change the face of English ceramic art in the early years of the following century. In the case both of maiolica and of embossed stove-tiles the successive stages of that invasion can be traced—first the import of foreign goods, then the settlement of foreign craftsmen, and finally the evolution of a native industry. The Flemish inlaid tiles, however, never passed the first stage of casual importation, a stage at which the position of London as the primary centre for the diffusion of new ideas is peculiarly marked. Before they could have the effect of resuscitating an industry which was moribund, if not already dead in south-east England, fashions had changed; and with the passage of medieval England into the England of Henry VIII there was no place for a craft such as this, whose roots lay wholly in the unfashionable past of medievalism.

*Hand-axes from North America.*—A controversy like that on the Trenton gravels is likely to arise from discoveries made in Wyoming by Dr. E. B. Renaud of Denver University, who pointed out cultural resemblances in the Old and New Worlds in *Revue Anthropologique*, xliii (1933), p. 468, and has now collected from the surface of the Green River basin, about 200 miles south of Yellowstone Park, a large number of implements suggestive of the Palaeolithic. Though near the Grand Trunk railway, the region is desert, and abounds in rattlesnakes that make collecting an adventure; but the implements lie thick on a restricted area of the river-terraces, and are made of the local chert and quartzite. Many rolled specimens closely resemble in patination the earliest from Egypt, and there are finished ovates of St. Acheul type in mint condition, as well as roughly trimmed discs and other forms of tabular material. Dr. Renaud has issued a preliminary report in typescript, dated 1935, with full-size sketches of typical specimens, and has submitted an ample series to European experts, who appear to accept some, at least, as of Palaeolithic type and period. Such coincidences in Egypt and the Rocky Mountains open up a new chapter in prehistory; and another problem in diffusion will have to be discussed by both sides in that persistent inquiry.

*An unidentified inscription in the Tower of London.*—The Rev. J. S. Purvis, F.S.A., contributes the following: The large room on the first floor of the Beauchamp tower in the Tower of London bears on its walls a series of inscriptions or memorials of which the greater part has been identified with some certainty. Amongst those unidentified is one of which the most complete notice is still that by W. R. Dick in his monograph on these inscriptions:<sup>1</sup>

On the left of the doorway, leading from the state prison room to the cells, is the name 'W. Wodbus', of whom no account can be found in history, neither is his name contained in the State papers.

By the courtesy of H.M. Office of Works I have been able to examine this carving closely, with the following results. The inscription, numbered

<sup>1</sup> W. R. Dick, *Inscriptions and Devices in the Beauchamp Tower*, London, 1853.

63, is cut at a height of 3 ft. 5 in. above the present floor-level, and 7 in. inwards from the edge of the door-jamb. The letters are set in a sunk rectangle 17 cm. by 3.6 cm., somewhat irregularly formed; the execution is remarkable for its curious lack of symmetry and its variety of scale. The proportions of the initial letters *w. w. . . .*, of the *o*, and of the final *s* suggest that after the frame had been sunk the inscription was sketched out and cut as *w. wo . . . s*; except the *o*, these letters have some degree of decoration at the free ends of the lines. The *o* was formed by four



FIG. 1. Inscription in Tower of London to William Wood

cuts in a lozenge shape, of irregular depth, two of them being much more deeply sunk than any other part of the inscription. The *o* brings a sudden change from capital letters to minuscule, and by this time it seems to have become clear to the artist that, the length of the inscription being fixed already by the cutting of the *s*, the space remaining would be insufficient for even the most cramped insertion of two more capital letters or even of two more minuscules on the scale of those already cut. The *v*, therefore, had to be squeezed in between and above the rest, at the risk of splitting off portions of the stone surrounding the *s*. The remaining letter, which Dick read as *b*, is unquestionably not *b*, but clearly an *i*, where the knife strongly pressed has slipped and been turned, perhaps by some inequality of hardness in the stone, so that the letter became *h*, still further cramping the space available for the *v*. The name then appears as *w. wodius*, and not, as Dick and other writers after him have read it, *w. wodbus*. The inscription is curiously irregular, and has been cut apparently by an unsteady or hurried hand; that the irregularity was due to illiteracy seems to be contradicted by the latinized form of the name (fig. 1).

A clue indicating the way to identification may be provided by the fact that on the same section of wall, only about 3 ft. to the left of no. 63 and at the same unusual height above the floor, is no. 61,

ADAM SEDBAR

ABBAS JOREVALLE.

Amongst those attainted of high treason (and later executed) in 1537 along with Adam Sedbar was one who may be suggested with probability as the author of inscription 63—William Wode, or Wood, last prior of the Augustinian house of Bridlington. Their names appear together, in



Thomas Cromwell's own hand, in the list of those to be arraigned on Wednesday, 16th May 1537 [the italics are mine]:

James Cokerell of Lithe, clerk [*prior of Guisborough*]; Nicholas Tempest of Baschehall; William Woode, prior of Bridlington; John Pikeryng of Lithe, clerk; Adam Sedbar [*abbot of Fervaulx*]; William Thirske, [*abbot*] of Fountains; John Pykeryng, B.D., the friar.

[S. P. Dom. Hen. VIII, XII, i. 1199 (2)]

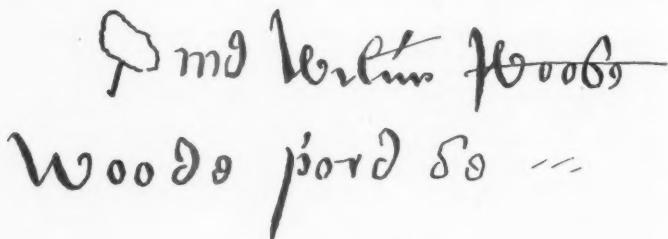


FIG. 2. Signature of William Wood

It is suggested that w. WODIUS, not WODBUS, may be identified with this William Woode (or Wode), prior of Bridlington.

William Wood at the time of his arrest and imprisonment was 67 years of age, and had been for some time in feeble health. In October 1535 he wrote to Thomas Cromwell excusing himself for not appearing personally in London:

And whereas I am deteyned with divers infirmities in my body, and in lyke manner am feble of nature, so that without great jeopardie of my lyffe I cannot nor am not hable to labor in doing of my deuty to appere before your mastership. . . . [Harl. MS. Cleop. E. iv, f. 53.]

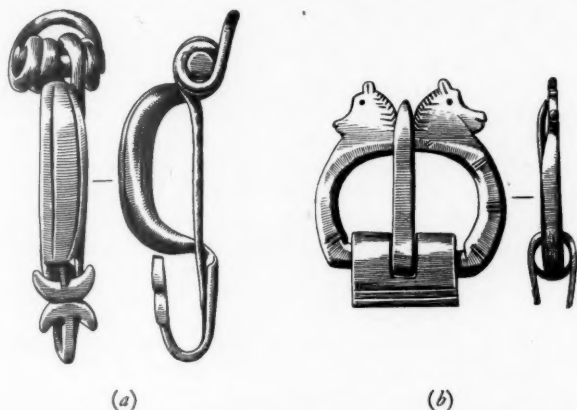
Other indications suggest that the plea of feebleness here was more than conventional form. Old age and weakness afford a reasonable explanation of the irregular execution of the inscription. Perhaps also the circumstances of his trial made it impossible to finish the inscription at the pace and on the plan originally intended: the end was hurried.

Finally, the signature of William Wood appended to the sheets of the official record of his examination [S.P. Hen. VIII, XII. i. 1019, 1020] shows certain points of resemblance to the inscription in the Beauchamp Tower, and to that extent may be taken as supporting the identification here attempted (fig. 2).

*Bronzes from Sudeley Castle.*—By permission of Major Dent-Brocklehurst two interesting specimens from the Sudeley collection are here illustrated, though their exact provenance is unknown. It may be presumed that both were found in the neighbourhood of Winchcombe, once an Anglo-Saxon capital and always a desirable area for settlement. The brooch (*a*) is a variety of the well-known La Tène I type, and does not appear in successive lists of such finds (e.g. *Glastonbury Lake-village*,



i, 185; *Arch. Camb.* lxxxii, 1927, 106). It has a plump bow with incised borderlines and the head merging into a spiral spring of four coils with a projecting chord. The original pin (prolongation of the spring) is lost and was replaced by a hinge pin, probably when the spiral was strengthened by an axis, as in one from the Thames (B.M. *Early Iron Age Guide*, fig. 98). The foot is open and the terminal is in the form of



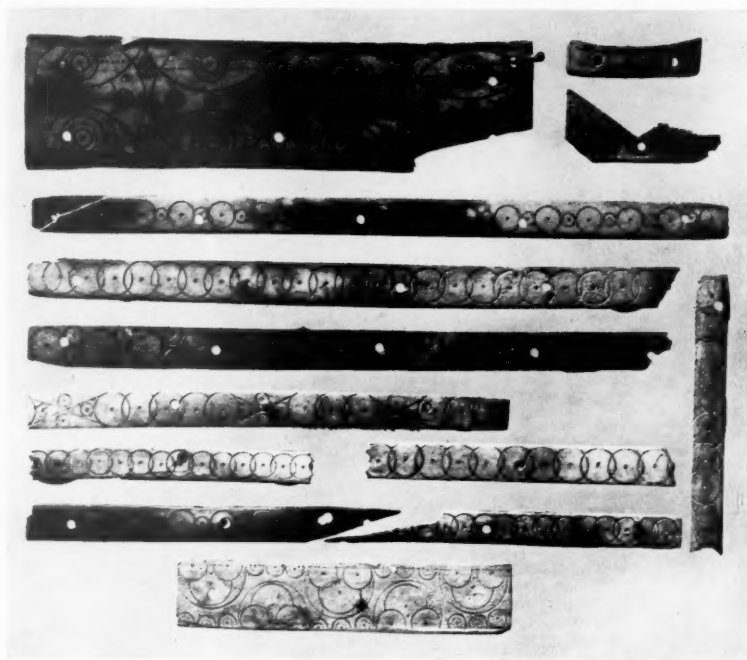
Brooch (a) and buckle (b) from Sudeley Castle ( $\frac{1}{2}$ )

crests back to back, close to but not touching the bow, hence its attribution to the first phase of La Tène. It is probably late in the series, and may well be of British manufacture as specimens are numerous in the west of England as well as near London.

The other bronze is a buckle (b) with a pair of horses' heads projecting from the hoop, a peculiar feature occasionally found in Britain, but not exactly dated. The best known example has an early Christian symbol on the plate (*Antiq. Journ.* xi, 128, from *Early Iron Age Guide*, fig. 108); others, mostly hoops, are recorded from Pickworth and Market Overton, Rutland; Dorchester, Oxon.; Bifrons, Kent; Bitterne, Hants; Alwalton, Hunts.; Spoonley Wood villa, Glos.; and Castor, Northants. Abroad there is a complete specimen in Périgueux Museum, and a hint as to the date is given by addorsed heads on a silver fragment from south Sweden (*Acta Archaeologica*, ii, 107, fig. 8), ascribed to the early fifth century. The Sudeley Castle buckle belongs to the same class, but its plate and tongue may well be later (medieval) additions. They are of different metal, now almost black, and it is clear that the tongue was added after the folded plate, which is narrow for the hoop and was presumably to hold the end of a strap; but there are no signs of fastening, and the only marks are two incised lines along the edge of the front. An attempt was evidently made to put an ancient buckle-hoop to its original use; but the date and significance of the horses' heads motive remain a problem. This may be the specimen found at the neighbouring Spoonley

Wood villa; but if so, the drawing in J. H. Middleton's account of the site in the *Winchcombe and Sudeley Record*, vol. iv, nos. 39-48, March-December, 1893 (reprinted from *Archaeologia*, lii, with extra illustrations), is anything but accurate.

*Ivory mounts from a casket.*—Mr. T. D. Kendrick, F.S.A., sends the following note: The ornamental ivory mounts from a casket that are figured in the accompanying illustration (pl. xcvi) were found in the Old Park site at Dover, presumably in the Jutish cemetery (*Antiq. Journ.* xvii, 77). They are the property of the Dover Museum, but they were recently taken by the Curator, Mr. F. Knocker, to the British Museum in order that they might be cleaned and photographed; and Mr. Knocker has kindly given permission for the British Museum photograph of the complete set of mounts to be published, the only available illustration hitherto being a photograph of a single fragment that appeared in Baldwin Brown's *Arts in Early England* (iii, pl. LIII. 4). The mounts are extremely interesting as an example of Late Antique ornament, and were doubtless the embellishments of a late fourth or an early fifth century casket such as that from Vermand (Eck, *Deux Cimetières Gallo-Romains*, Paris, 1891, p. 200, and pl. XIII. 4) which had a lid decorated with a set of thin strips of rare woods embedded in a clay matrix, forming a kind of geometric marqueterie. In this instance the strips were pinned by ivory pegs to the surface of the casket, and were doubtless used as frames bordering two rectangular areas, in the centre of which was fixed one of the two broader panels; for their measurements suggest that they can scarcely have been assembled in a closed-up arrangement, like that in the bone casket found at York (*Proc. Soc. Ant.* xxii, 9). One fragment (pl. xcvi, top right), had a lozenge-shaped aperture, and was probably the escutcheon of the key-hole. The ornament consists of clearly incised compass-drawn circles and intersecting arcs, and also of straight lines, dots, and a roughly pecked stippling. This stippling, to be seen on the smaller of the two rectangular panels, is used to give substance to an expanding curve that ends in two circles, and it appears here as a curious barbarism that would have been more at home in older Celtic art (cf. especially the Lough Crew bone plaques, *Journ. R. Soc. Ant. Ireland*, xlv, 1914, fig. opp. p. 163). The Dover casket, however, was made when the Dark Ages were beginning, and it is not surprising that it should reveal an aesthetic tendency that was later to change Roman patterns into Celtic and Saxon designs.



Ivory mounts from a casket, Dover Museum ( $\frac{2}{3}$ )

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## Obituary Notice

*Mill Stephenson.* Mill Stephenson died on 29th July in his eightieth year. Born at Hull on 20th October 1857, he was educated at the Richmond Grammar School and at Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge, where he took his degree in 1880. He was called to the bar at the Middle Temple in 1885, but does not appear ever to have practised. He was elected to the Society of Antiquaries in 1888, and at his death was its twelfth senior fellow.

Spared from the necessity of having to earn his living he was able to devote his boundless energy throughout practically the whole of his long life to the pursuit of those antiquarian studies in which he was particularly interested. Even in his school-days he had taken up brass-rubbing as a hobby, not from his own account with the whole-hearted approval of his headmaster, and it was on the subject of monumental brasses that he was to become the acknowledged authority. His memory for brasses and their location was prodigious. One could hardly name an ancient church in the kingdom to him but he could say at once what, if any, brasses of interest it contained. In his orderly mind the subject was perfectly classified, and his knowledge of the details of the brasses made him an authority on such matters as heraldry and medieval armour and costume.

It was perhaps his native Yorkshire common sense that made him turn to the more practical side of archaeology and to such tangible objects of antiquity as could be brought within the range of an exact science. In the more speculative side he was little interested and always confessed to an inability from the want of sufficient imagination to understand the recent developments in such branches of the science as prehistory. But in Roman antiquities he was especially interested and acquired a very useful knowledge of them, and in particular of Roman coins, which enabled him to superintend with the utmost efficiency the excavations at Silchester for the greater part of the twenty odd years during which they were carried out by the Society. Here his remarkable ability in dealing with the workmen under him, his ready sympathy with them and understanding of their ways, combined with his strong sense of humour, inspiring their respect and real affection for him, contributed very largely to the harmonious carrying out of the work. In all this undertaking he sought no self-glorification, and we must attribute it to his own desire for self-effacement that only in the last of the reports did he allow his name to appear as a co-editor.

Of his services to the Society so far as they are on record he was on the Council seven times between the years 1894 and 1908, he was a member of the Research Committee from its start in 1909 until he resigned from it last year, and intermittently he served on the Executive and Library Committees. Between 1894 and 1934 he contributed many papers and exhibitions, chiefly on his favourite subjects of monumental brasses and heraldry, which will be found recorded in the *Proceedings* and this *Journal*. With Mr. Ralph Griffin he wrote papers on the Roll of

Arms of c. 1540 in the Society's possession and on a set of Elizabethan roundels in the British Museum, both of which were printed in *Archaeologia*. But it would be almost impossible to say how much unrecorded and purely voluntary work he undertook for the Society during the many years in which he worked in the library. Suffice it to say that he put in order and catalogued its great collection of brass-rubbings, he made a hand-list of its manuscripts, described in detail some of its rolls of arms, and at the time that he was taken ill was cataloguing and arranging the Roland Paul drawings.

Outside the Society he acted for some years as honorary secretary of the Royal Archaeological Institute, and from 1889 to the beginning of 1897 he served the Surrey Archaeological Society in the same capacity, where his sound business instincts were invaluable in restoring the Society from the somewhat chaotic conditions into which its finances had for the time fallen. He also ran for many years the old Monumental Brass Society until the difficult conditions of the War period decided him to close it down. To the Surrey Archaeological Society he contributed amongst numerous other papers perhaps the fullest descriptive list of the brasses of any county which has yet appeared. The instalments of it came out in nine consecutive volumes of the Society's *Collections* (vols. xxv to xxxiii). In collaboration with Mr. Griffin he printed as a separate work *A List of Monumental Brasses remaining in the County of Kent in 1922* (1923). No doubt a search of the transactions of their archaeological societies and of other serial publications would reveal other counties which profited from his thorough knowledge of this subject, such as the articles he contributed to the old *Home Counties Magazine* on the palimpsest brasses of Hertfordshire. But his *magnum opus* was his *List of Monumental Brasses in the British Isles* (1926), in which, as the result of many years' study, he brought up to date and entirely revised the list published in 1861 in part ii of Haines's *Manual*.

No fellow of the Society could have been better known to the generality of its fellows or more loved by them than Mill Stephenson. Not only was he, during his close on fifty years connexion with it, one of the most regular attendants at its meetings, but he was to be found almost any afternoon during its sessions at his accustomed place in that room of the library which came to be popularly known as 'Mill's parlour'. Here his advice and entirely disinterested assistance were never sought in vain by those whom he knew to be like himself genuinely in search of knowledge, although he had a wholesome distrust of those who, he suspected, merely desired to suck his brains for the sake of their own advertisement. His loss will long be felt, and he leaves a gap in the Society's ranks which will not be easily filled.

M. S. G.

## Reviews

*Roman Britain and the English Settlements.* By R. G. COLLINGWOOD and J. N. L. MYRES.  $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$ . Pp. 515 + xxvi. Oxford: at the Clarendon Press. 1936. 12s. 6d.

Since the war research into the history of the Roman Province of Britain has been so widespread that it was high time that the results were collated and published in the form of a continuous narrative. No one is better qualified to perform this task than Professor R. G. Collingwood, who now gives us for the first time, in this book, the history of the four centuries of Roman rule in this country.

As this volume is the first of the series which will form the Oxford History of England, the first chapter necessarily gives some outline of the physical and geographical features of the island, while in chapter II there is a brief synopsis of what is known of its history before the first contact with Rome. Incidentally this chapter contains (p. 31) the rather startling suggestion that the name *Britannia* was invented by Julius Caesar.

That Caesar intended ultimately to proceed to the complete conquest of Britain may be agreed; but it will not be so readily agreed that the campaign of 54 was to be the beginning of that conquest (pp. 51-3). Caesar himself gives no reason for supposing that that campaign was intended to achieve more than it actually accomplished, namely the neutralization of Britain for the time being in view of threatened *Galliae motus*.

In the account of the Claudian invasion there is so much which is not to be found in the only extant authority, that the reader who is familiar with the text of Dio is inclined to wonder if Professor Collingwood has not rediscovered the lost books of the 'Annals'. But on closer examination it appears that what is new in this story is 'merely corroborative detail'. As an example of what can be extracted from the text of Dio, one may quote (p. 82) 'At the moment of the invasion Cunobelinus was lately dead, and his sons' intention was probably to divide his inheritance between them; but this appears not yet to have been done, and actually we find . . . Togodumnus and Caratacus exercising a kind of joint rule, which must have been a provisional and temporary arrangement . . . (p. 83). Disunion was their undoing. Instead of acting in concert, each of the brothers independently gathered his own men around him, and rushed blindly upon the Roman force. Caratacus, the abler and more vigorous of the two, reached Kent first . . . but Plautius found no difficulty in driving him headlong from his position . . . and in his pursuit met with Togodumnus and crushed him, the British prince himself falling in the battle'. These two passages are apparently a rendering of a single sentence of Dio, *πρῶτον μὲν Καταράτακον ἔπειτα Τογούδουμον, Κυνοβελίνου παῖδας ἐνίκησεν· αὐτὸς γὰρ ἐτεβήκει*. If so much meaning is to be extracted from Dio's 'bald and unconvincing narrative', the next words, *φυγόντων δὲ ἐκείνων*, must surely imply that Togodumnus escaped that day, and the natural inference is that it was in the fighting north of the



Thames that he met his death, since it is not mentioned till that point in the story.

These, however, are minor points compared with the view, apparently put forward in all seriousness (p. 84), that 'Caesar's narrative of his own invasion was used throughout the campaign of 43 as a text-book by the Roman staff' and governed all Plautius's actions. This hypothesis involves the author in some surprising conclusions. Two examples must suffice. First, 'the line of the Medway was never held against Caesar . . . hence . . . Plautius knew nothing of the Medway' (p. 84). It is quite inconceivable that such a considerable river, which had to be crossed on any land-route from the channel ports to Cunobeline's dominions, should not have been well-known to those Roman traders who even before the death of Augustus had 'made the whole island almost a Roman country' (p. 73). If the Roman Intelligence service could learn of Richborough harbour from such people, it was not likely to depend on the *de Bello Gallico* for all its other information about the theatre of war. Second, this hypothesis involves the complete rejection of Dio's account (our only one) of the last stages of the campaign. In extenuation it is said (p. 85) that 'at this point our sources become contradictory'; the sources which contradict Dio being Claudius's own magniloquent boast *sine ulla iactura*, and Suetonius's disparaging sneer *sine ullo proelio aut sanguine*. The bombast of emperors is not evidence, and the value of Suetonius's testimony is measured by his phrase *expeditio modica*, and by the fact that he contradicts himself in *Vespasian* 4. 1. Neither should discredit the only surviving historian of the campaign.

Criticism of these earlier chapters has been made at some length largely for the reason that there is little else to criticize. When he has the not so bald narrative of Tacitus to follow, and when he is interpreting archaeological evidence, Professor Collingwood rides his imagination with a tighter rein. On the question of the date of the withdrawal from Agricola's conquests in Scotland (p. 118) he wisely refuses to commit himself in a case which may be said still to be *sub iudice*, but at whatever date it happened, a Trajanic frontier on the Stanegate line is accepted as an established fact (p. 127). In the case of Hadrian's Wall the evidence cited is, of course, the very latest available, and necessitates another readjustment of opinions previously expressed by Professor Collingwood himself. In view of the now proved contemporaneity of the Wall and the Vallum he essays another explanation of the latter work, which, as he claims, does fit the known facts (p. 134), none of which contradict Haverfield's definition of it as a non-military work. The weakness of the Antonine frontier as contrasted with the Hadrianic is clearly demonstrated (pp. 140-8), and in the vicissitudes of that frontier Professor Collingwood somewhat hesitatingly follows Sir George Macdonald in ascribing both the third period and the final evacuation to Ulpian Marcellus (p. 153).

Book III (of 100 pages) is a review of the conditions of the Province under Roman rule. This is an extremely valuable section of the work, and though it cannot supersede Haverfield's 'Romanisation' it may be said to be an amplification and correction of it in view of the evidence

accumulated since 1915, especially that from Wroxeter and Verulamium. In the course of these chapters views previously expressed as to the population of the Province are somewhat modified (pp. 179-81).

Another and more serious modification of view (already given to the Roman Society) is the acceptance of an official 're-occupation'—albeit brief, and of a much diminished province—after 410, the conclusion resting in the main on the presence of the Comes Britanniarum in the Notitia, and to a lesser extent on the coin evidence from Richborough and certain other sites in the south and east. This view has not as yet won general acceptance, but it demands serious consideration, even though its foundations may not be very strong. The presence of the Comes in the Notitia is not the same thing as his presence in Britain, and it is not impossible that he and his army only existed on paper for an expedition projected by Constantius, which in fact never crossed the Channel, while the coin evidence is admittedly inconclusive (p. 295).

Finally Professor Collingwood gives his imagination its head in a last gallop with Arthur and his knights, and produces an explanation of that legendary figure which is admittedly attractive (p. 321), and which supplies a plausible basis for most of the later features of the myth—except the Round Table.

Mr. Myres takes up the narrative with the arrival of the first Saxon settlers, and traces them by the scanty remains they have left behind, and with the often dubious guidance of the *Chronicle* through that period of 150 years which is generally known as the Dark Ages. After perusing the 130 pages of Book V, however, the reader must recognize to what a great extent the darkness has been lifted by recent archaeological research. If, from the nature of the case, Mr. Myres does not present a picture of the Saxon settlements clear in all its details, he does at least provide a sketch in which the main outlines can be seen plainly against the darkness of the background. The penetration of the invaders from the coasts or up the water-ways into the interior, their spread from such *foci* of primary settlement, the areas where some intermingling with the existing population took place, and the districts where 'pockets' of British culture remained for some time in isolation, all these are drawn with such clarity that the reader can see in the formation of the kingdoms of the Heptarchy the logical development of the earliest invasions. For the history of those kingdoms we await Professor Stenton's volume.

P. K. B. R.

*Essays in the History of the York School of Glass-painting.* By JOHN A. KNOWLES. 10 x 7½. Pp. xv + 268. London: S.P.C.K., 1936. 30s.

Our Fellow Mr. J. A. Knowles is second to none in his knowledge of the stained glass in the cathedral and parish churches of York. He has combined a practical experience of glass-painting, and many years of examining the windows and the methods of those who made them, with a thorough study of the documents, to produce these stimulating essays. Although, as the title indicates, the book does not set out to be a complete guide to the windows, a great deal of ground is covered. The donors, the glass-painters, the subject-matter, the impact of various influences, and,

to some extent, parallel developments in other arts are all clearly and concisely discussed.

There is a very secular and even ostentatious tone about much of the York glass, a characteristic noticeable in the other decoration of the Minster as well. This secular tone Mr. Knowles believes to have been the reflection of the feelings of both donors and painters. Thus one window was little more than a splendid advertisement of a local saint, designed and erected to entice the pilgrims and their money from some other shrine. Another window was given to make smooth the path of preferment. At certain periods the glass-painters were not above saving money, time, and trouble where they could, and their employers kept as strict a watch as possible over them.

Many of the glass-painters lived and worked in the parish of St. Helen's, Stonegate. Not a few were buried in the parish church, which was the religious centre of their guild. A plate (LXI) shows the beautiful font in which they and their children were baptized: the preceding plate shows the modern tablet recording the names of the glass-painters buried in the church. The final essay in the book describes the glass-painters' guild in its secular and religious aspects. The various families of glass-painters, such as the Chambers, the Gyles, the Pettys, and the Thompsons, lived in concord and good fellowship. The analysis of some of their wills throws interesting sidelights upon their connexion with each other and upon the contents of their workshops. Seldom did the donors of the windows go outside this circle to order a window elsewhere. A notable exception was the choice of John Thornton of Coventry in 1405 to paint the great east window of the Minster, a choice probably made necessary by the effects of the terrible plague of 1391 upon the York glass-painters.

The chapters upon the various influences are perhaps the most interesting to the student of medieval stained glass. Considerable space is given to an attempt to estimate the influence of the Cistercians in the revival of the popularity of grisaille glass, to a discussion of the influences of the centres that produced the glass at Oxford and Wells, and to continental influences upon style and choice of subject-matter. Such parallels as have been found with glass of other districts or with such things as monumental brasses are carefully noted and lavishly illustrated with plates and drawings. These chapters form an admirable basis for further speculation, and a model for those who would do the same for other centres of glass-painting.

The sections of the book dealing with the subject-matter have a wider appeal. So far as the religious matter is concerned, the remarks upon the representations of 'Corpus Christi' and 'the Blessed Virgin Mary crowned by the Three Persons of the Trinity' are particularly welcome. On the secular side, the political allusions are numerous and instructive. The 'Penancer's Window' in the Minster has both a secular and a religious motive, about which Mr. Knowles has some outspoken things to say. The illustrations of details from the St. William window in the Minster, painted c. 1421, remind us that stained glass provides a more or less un-

explored field for those interested in the customs, costumes, ills, and minor belongings of all classes of people in the later Middle Ages.

The book is invaluable not only to students of glass-painting, but to all who would understand the artistic, economic, and social background of a most important craft in a famous English city during nearly six centuries.

CHRISTOPHER WOODFORDE.

*Festschrift zur Hundertjahrfeier des Museums vorgeschichtlicher Altertümer in Kiel.* 11½ × 9. Pp. viii + 160. Neumünster: Wachholtz, 1936. R.M. 15.

The Kiel Museum has fittingly celebrated its centenary by the publication of a volume of papers on archaeology. Dr. G. Schwantes writes on the past history of the Museum, of which he is the distinguished Director. Apart from a paper by A. Rust on the Askalonian (Stone Age) industry of Palestine, and a long article by L. Sawicki on the age of the Swiderian mesolithic industry in relation to dune-stratification near Warsaw, the major part of the book contains eight papers on North German antiquities and excavations. A richly furnished megalithic collective grave near Hademerschen is fully illustrated by C. Rothmann; the grave goods, grouped in one corner of the chamber, comprised beakers, boat-shaped axes, and flint daggers, and a polished flint axe lay near the entrance. A secondary inhumation with Bronze Age pots was at a higher level in the mound, in which was also buried a hoard, consisting of a bronze sword and socketed axe, and a gold armlet with double-spiral terminals. The same writer describes a mound covering two burial chambers, one with a capstone, near Hahnenkrug, containing pottery, a flint axe, and amber ornaments. K. Langenheilm follows with a paper on chipped flint knives of thick-pointed, oval section, and gives a distribution-map of the type in Schleswig-Holstein, together with figures of associated pottery. Dr. G. Schwantes illustrates beakers and associated finds from the cemetery at Sande near Hamburg, and the last paper on a prehistoric subject is by H. Hoffmann on the final Bronze Age in Holstein, which he divides into two groups. Parallels are illustrated for the Weybridge bi-conical urns (*Antiq. Journ.* v, 74), and the associated pins, razors, etc. are equated with Reinecke's Hallstatt C period.

Two papers are devoted to some of the results of the excavations at Haithabu (Hedeby). B. F. von Richthofen discusses at length the affinities of the Slav pottery found here, with a wealth of illustration, and E. Nöbbe lists the coins from Hedeby now in the Kiel Museum. The final paper, also by E. Nöbbe, is on the Krinkberg coin-hoard of about A.D. 800, and concludes with a discussion of the minting of Dorestadt pennies.

The volume is well printed and the illustrations are both numerous and excellent, but why is pottery still figured in such an obsolete way as on p. 64, fig. 11, and p. 91, figs. 2, 3, and 7? G. C. D.

*Franciscan Architecture in England.* By A. R. MARTIN, F.S.A. 8½ × 5½. Pp. xxii + 306. Manchester: University Press. 1937. 21s. net.

This book forms vol. xviii of the British Society of Franciscan Studies, and in it our Fellow Mr. Martin has compiled an exhaustive survey of

the architectural remains of the Franciscan order in England. As Mr. Martin observes, there is little, if any, distinction to be found between the architectural arrangements of the four mendicant orders, and it is thus not altogether satisfactory to study the buildings of one order alone. It would, however, have swelled the matter of the volume beyond all reasonable limits had a general survey been attempted, and we can at any rate be thankful that we have here a detailed account of one section of a highly interesting and little-known subject. The introductory chapter gives the author's conclusions on the subject in general, on the form of the church with its distinctive steeple, and of the lay-out of the monastic buildings and their component parts. The only house of the order in England which has been at all systematically examined is that at Walsingham, and this examination was due to Mr. Martin's own efforts. The body of the book consists of a detailed account of the thirteen houses of which structural remains of importance survive, followed by two chapters on houses represented only by survivals of plan or minor buildings, and finishing up with a chapter on the houses of Franciscan nuns.

The comparatively infrequent survival of Franciscan houses is largely due to the location of most of them in the larger towns and their consequent destruction for utilitarian reasons, but the existing examples still include several of highly unusual form. Of these the remarkable church at Lincoln has been the subject of separate treatment by Mr. Martin, and the steeples at Coventry, King's Lynn, and Richmond are among the few monuments of the order familiar to more than a select few.

Mr. Martin has produced an admirable survey, which not only includes all the available information on the subject but is presented in a form which is extremely readable, and illustrated as completely as is reasonably possible.

The book has a preface by our past-president, Sir Charles Peers, and a number of useful appendices. One may hope that some day the highly remarkable remains of the nunnery at Denny will be the subject of a complete investigation.

A. C.

*Troldebjerg: En Bymæssig Bebyggelse fra Danmarks Yngre Stenalder.* By J. WINTHER.  $12\frac{1}{2} \times 9\frac{1}{2}$ . Pp. 68. Trykt: Langeland centraltrykkeri, 1935.

Despite the bulk of material available from the passage graves of the north for study in museums, relatively little was known about the houses and general way of life of the people who built the great stone tombs of Denmark before Herr Winther began his excavations in Langeland Island. It is some years back that Winther excavated and reported on a settlement at Lindø<sup>1</sup> dating from the later stages of the period of the passage graves. In the present report he describes the results of four seasons' (1930-3) digging at the site of Troldebjerg, dating from the period of the 'grand style' of Danish megalithic pottery. The publication is notable for its illustrations (66 figures, all but three of them half-tones), those of the

<sup>1</sup> *Lindø. En Boplads fra Danmarks Yngre Stenalder.* Part I, 1926; part II, 1928.

pottery being especially successful. The text is in Danish, but there is a German summary.

The most interesting discoveries made by Herr Winther relate to the indications of structures found on the site, of which there were two distinct types:

(a) More or less circular houses from 4-6 metres in diameter with a single entrance. Associated with one of these were traces of an outer covering of burnt clay.

(b) A series of three large rectangular structures placed end on in an irregular row at intervals of about one metre. The total length of the complex was 233 feet. The structures seem to have had solid wooden walls on the west side, represented by continuous slots in the ground bordered on either side by rows of boulders. The roofs were of gabled type, supported by large uprights set in stone-packed post-holes. The eastern walls were evidently lower than the western because the posts, represented by their post-holes, were less substantial; moreover, these low walls extended only for the northern half of the structures, the roofs evidently sloping pent-wise to the ground in the foreparts.

That the more or less round structures were dwelling-houses is shown by the occurrence of pottery and other debris on their floors. In the case of the long, rectangular structures, on the other hand, it is evident that only the foreparts of the houses were inhabited by human beings, hearths and sherds being confined to this part in each case; the greater part of them was given over either to stables or to barns.

At Troldebjerg we have an interesting example of a settlement in which house-plans reflect different economic uses, and it is interesting to find that at Köln-Lindenthal in the middle Rhine valley the same kind of differentiation of structures according to use has more recently been observed in a settlement of the Danubian folk excavated by Haberey and Buttler.<sup>1</sup> Extensive excavation of neolithic (and it may be added of later) settlements may be expected to throw more light of this kind upon the buildings and economic organization of the early communities of Europe, on whose material remains so much research has been lavished.

From the plentiful remains of oxen, pigs, sheep, and dogs it is clear that stock-raising played an important part in the economy of the Troldebjerg people. The bones of wild animals were rare and show that hunting played only a subservient rôle. Definite evidence for agriculture is provided by impressions on sherds of grains identified by Dr. Jessen as belonging to wheat and emmer, while finds of sickle flints, both the single-piece type and the multiple type, serve as confirmation.

An interesting glimpse into the spiritual life of the Troldebjerg people was obtained by the discovery of a flint celt in the wall-slot of one of the rectangular structures; the practice of incorporating 'thunderbolts' (usually prehistoric celts) in cottages and barns survived among the peasants of the island up to the present day.

J. G. D. CLARK.

<sup>1</sup> W. Buttler und W. Haberey, *Die bandkeramische Ansiedlung bei Köln-Lindenthal*, 1936.



*The English House.* By A. HAMILTON THOMPSON.  $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$ . Pp. 40. Historical Association pamphlet, no. 105. London: Bell, for the Historical Association. 1936. 1s.

The Historical Association is to be congratulated on its recent pamphlet, which is one of special interest to archaeologists. Professor Hamilton Thompson has been inveigled from his castles and monasteries, and has brought his vast stores of learning into the domains of the English house.

The earlier portions of the book are the most valuable. This is due less to the inclinations of the author than to the neglect, in the past, of medieval domestic architecture. Most writers have been content to describe the 'typical medieval house' and nothing more. Certainly the H-type of plan is general in the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries; but the development up to it and divergences from it have been disregarded. This is now being remedied, and Professor Thompson suggests a method of approach to the subject, though naturally the limited scope of a pamphlet prevents any but a brief survey and reconsideration of existing knowledge.

It is refreshing not to find the keep given as the original of the English house, an error so common up to now, and on the contrary to read the assertion that the manor-house did not copy the keep, but the keep the manor-house. However, the professor is less drastic with the other or 'monastic' school of domestic writers. Regarding the aisled hall, he considers the possibility that it may have been influenced by the infirmary buildings of monasteries. But would not the aisles be less the result of some influence than of the practical need for a wider span, shared, as is realized, by the latter? Both were used for sleeping purposes, and both were successors of the Saxon timber hall.

The medieval house is classified into three types: the first-floor hall with chamber adjoining, over cellars; the ground-floor hall gradually losing its aisles and evolving with upper and lower end wings into the familiar H-plan; and the building of three storeys with cellar, hall, and chamber over each other. This last or tower-house, however, almost always shows military influence, and is out of the main line of development.

The H-plan is discussed at some length: its growth, with the fourteenth- and fifteenth-century increase in private accommodation, into the quadrangular plan common to collegiate buildings, and the return, in the time of Elizabeth, to the original form, the two courtyard wings receding and projecting backwards. The Renaissance at first affected detail alone, but in the seventeenth century the whole plan was transformed, resulting in the compact house of one block, which survives to the present day.

The author rightly derives the screens from the 'speer' which sheltered an early hall from draughts at its entrances, yet in the first-floor hall at Markenfield he assumes that screens once existed. It appears doubtful, however, if contemporary screens occurred in a hall of that nature. The latter had usually only one entrance (and outside stair), unlike the ground-floor hall with its opposite doorways (to lower and upper courts), occurring as early as the hall at Appleton built c. 1210. The screens would seem to derive from the speers to each of these entrances joined together, or



combined with a central portion of screening, separated from each spear by an opening for in-and-out traffic at meal-times.

From the title the reader might have expected something on the lines of Mr. A. W. Clapham's diagrams of types of houses in the *Report of the Royal Commission on Historical Monuments, Essex*, iv (1923), p. xxx. These are perhaps more helpful in dating than the four plans provided in the pamphlet. Another aspect which could have been developed is the constructive side, such as the growth of internal space in a half-timber house, from crucks to vertical walls and three storeys, such as is shown in the diagrams which are probably the most valuable part of Mr. S. R. Jones's *English Village Homes* (Batsford), p. 91. Indeed, some might criticize the pamphlet for its emphasis on the extraordinary English house, and its neglect, in the main, of the everyday building. On the other hand, it must be remembered that the greater buildings are those normally planned, the smaller houses, chiefly half-timbered, being merely dubbed picturesque if noticed at all. Thus until detailed research is carried out all over the country, on the lines of the Reports of the Royal Commission on Historical Monuments and C. F. Innocent's *Development of English Building Construction*, a book undeservedly overlooked, little further can be done. Of the knowledge to date Professor Thompson's monograph forms an admirable summary.

Mr. Nathaniel Lloyd's *A History of the English House* (Architectural Press, 1931) is unaccountably absent from the list of books recommended; the same applies to Mr. H. Avray Tipping's *English Homes* (Country Life, 1921) in which is a fully illustrated article on Markenfield. This fourteenth-century hall might well have been compared with a contemporary hall at Hamsey, but of ground-floor type, of which the plan has been reconstructed from contemporary documents by Mr. W. H. Godfrey (*Sussex Notes and Queries*, iii (1930-1), p. 133).  
M. E. W.

*Index of Figure-Types on Terra Sigillata.* By FELIX OSWALD, F.S.A.  
Part II.  $15\frac{1}{4} \times 11\frac{1}{2}$ . Pp. 31, with 24 plates. Liverpool: University Press. 1936. 12s.

In this, the second part of this monumental work, the same high standard of figure-representation is maintained as that which characterized the first number, already reviewed in this *Journal* (xvii, 82-4).

The types illustrated (pls. XXI-XLIV) are amongst the most important found in the decorated work of the sigillata potter, and many of them will be new, even to the most seasoned student of the subject. As an example of the comprehensive character of the work, it may be noted that no less than 128 types are illustrated under the heading of 'Cupids and Putti', a grouping which is to be commended, inasmuch as it is sometimes difficult to distinguish the cupid from the small wingless male figure. Moreover, they occur, not seldom, in illustrations of the same subjects, such as vintage scenes, and are sometimes found in association (cf. type 512).

This part is especially rich in interpolated types, demonstrating the sources from which the potter derived his inspiration. His copies, imitations, or adaptations are seldom worthy reproductions of the originals, and

this general lack of artistic merit may be regarded as a protective asset, for, as a consequence, his work has largely escaped the attention of the *dilettante*, that bane of scientific archaeology. To the student of these sherds it is their chronological applicability that matters.

Attention may be drawn to a few of the many interesting details embodied in this work. Type 489, boys stamping grapes in a tank with a lion's-head spout, is evidently derived from earlier vintage scenes, such as that on the marble relief in the Louvre, type 494 A. Note the lion's-head spouts in both scenes. Type 489 is in the style of the East Gaulish potter SATTO, who worked in the first third of the second century. Vintage scenes, depicting satyrs stamping grapes, are not uncommon in the early or Augustan work of the Arretine potter M. PERENNIVS. Perhaps the East Gaulish potter was acquainted with some of the products of his Italian predecessor. Types 908, 908 A, and 909, unidentified by Déchelette, are clearly Hygeia, as shown by comparison with the marble statue of the goddess at St. Petersburg, type 910 A. A number of types have received wrong attributions. Thus, Déchelette's Mercury (no. 292) is really Actaeon, for Dr. Oswald has shown that this figure is associated with the attacking dogs, type 125 B, pl. XLIII, in the style of GERMANVS of La Graufesenque. The three varieties of Pan playing the pipes, types 709, 709 A, 709 B, are useful for the purpose of distinguishing the work of different potters. Here, the smaller figure is the earliest; yet another exception to the rule that the same type became reduced in later examples. An interesting variety of 'Pan' is type 711, as used by the Antonine potter CINNAMVS. He is depicted with his ankles bound, and at the same time playing the syrinx and holding a shepherd's crook in his right hand. One is tempted to regard this figure as a kind of 'synthetic' illustration of the legend of Apollo and Marsyas.

These few details will serve to indicate the interest and importance of a work which is a credit to all concerned. For reference it is indispensable, and all archaeological societies and institutions should possess a copy.

T. DAVIES PRYCE.

*L'Architettura sveva in Sicilia.* Da GIUSEPPE AGNELLO. 11½ × 8½. Pp. 493. Rome: Collezione Meridionale, 1935. Lire 200.

On the architecture, as on the other arts of South Italy in the thirteenth century, the Emperor Frederick II has left the impress of that character which led a recent writer to proclaim him unequalled among the European rulers between Charlemagne and Napoleon. But while the buildings on the mainland are known, the importance of those in Sicily has been less fully realized. Dr. Agnello now gives a clear and adequately illustrated account of the latter, and the editor, Dr. Zanotti Bianco, has earned our gratitude by including this volume in the Collezione Meridionale which is doing so much to make known the artistic wealth of South Italy. That so full a description is available is largely due to the policy of the Government which, reversing the practice of earlier periods, is now beginning to undertake the preservation of the monuments of the middle ages. Castel Ursino at Catania, restored as a museum, is one of the outstanding examples

of this policy which is freeing the medieval buildings of Italy from the disfigurements of later ages.

Most important among the buildings discussed here is a group of three castles erected between 1230 and 1240 to protect the eastern coast of Sicily. Castel Ursino, a rectangular enclosure with circular towers at the corners and others in the centre of each side, is the most elaborate, but the essential parts of the design appear in the Castle of Augusta and in Castel Maniace at Syracuse. In all three only the ground floor remains. The upper story, with the principal rooms, has been destroyed, and only the scanty remains at Castel Ursino survive to prove the correctness of the author's reconstructions. On the ground floor the plan shows a central court surrounded by a series of ribbed vaults. Castel Maniace, where the design reaches its logical development, dispenses with internal walls, and the plan showed a double series of square bays with massive vaults springing from the great circular piers. When complete the hall must have given an appearance of massive strength and distance seldom equalled. The regular ashlar and the symmetrical plan of these castles are a fitting reminder of the Roman heritage on which the Emperor laid such stress, but details of the construction recall the background of Norman Sicily, while the ornament of the capitals and other parts show the influence of that French Gothic which the Cistercians had imported into Italy. The outworks which formed an essential part of these castles can no longer be studied as they have vanished beneath the more extensive bastions of later dates. But the full defensive system of the thirteenth century may be realized by a comparison with the Torre Federico at Enna, where the great octagonal keep rises in the centre of an extensive court.

Fragmentary remains of the palaces at the Targia near Syracuse and the Kantara near Augusta throw some light on those *domus solaciorum* mentioned in the records of the Imperial chancery. Unfortunately they are insufficient to throw much light on the arrangement of these country residences. That hunting formed one of Frederick's diversions is well attested. The massive dams which once formed artificial lakes at S. Cusmano and near Lentini illustrate this pastime, and help to explain the accurate observation which distinguishes his treatise on falconry.

Palaces in Syracuse and alterations to the Old Castle at Lentini are rightly ascribed to the period of the Hohenstaufen, but the author's claim that the Castle of Enna is of the same date does not carry conviction. The large area surrounded by a curtain flanked by numerous towers has few features in common with the other military works described, and is recognized as most nearly comparable to Lucera. But no attempt is made to meet the contention of Enlart and other scholars that this castle is, in its present form, an Angevin construction. Both Enna and Lucera possessed castles before 1250, and a closer architectural analysis is needed before we can distinguish between the various building periods. At Enna the ruin of the masonry and the tumbled piles of rubbish make a close inspection difficult, but as far as we can judge, a design and workmanship worthy of the Emperor can only be traced in the Torre Pisana.

One building described, though unfinished, has a special interest. The

hostility of the Papacy gave Frederick II little encouragement to build churches, and most of the architectural remains connected with him are secular. The basilica of the Murge near Augusta was begun in the period 1220-5, and though the works never reached more than ten feet in height the plan and affinities are evident. The cruciform church, with its aisled nave and short, square-ended presbytery, flanked by lesser chapels, is even more closely influenced by Cistercian models than are the castles already discussed.

The similarity often amounting to identity of details on widely separated sites raises the question of the methods by which the large number of imperial buildings were erected. Our documentary evidence is insufficient to solve the problem, but there is much to commend Dr. Agnello's cautious suggestion of a central technical organization which he would connect with Riccardo da Lentini, *praefectus novorum aedificiorum* about 1240.

C. A. R. R.

*Opgravingen op het Domplein te Utrecht.* Wetenschappelijke Verslagen III. By C. W. VOLLGRAFF and G. VAN HOORN. De Opgravingen in Juni en Juli 1934. Provinciaal Utrechtsch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen. 14 x 10. Pp. 75-129. Haarlem: Willink & Zoon, 1936. Fl. 4.50.

The third report of the excavations in the Cathedral Square of Utrecht deals mainly with the exploration of two successive rectangular Roman camps in which the cathedral occupies a central position, and it bears testimony to the valuable results which can be obtained by experts excavating carefully selected spots in an area restricted by buildings. Thus the lines of the northern, eastern, and southern ramparts have been accurately determined. The earlier camp was erected in the year A.D. 50 with an earthen rampart (no doubt surmounted by a palisade) on a raft of tree-trunks, and it faced a large V-shaped ditch and three smaller external ditches. A quadrangular tower,  $3\frac{1}{2}$  metres square, was found as well as the timbers of a barrack-building situated behind the usual intervallum, 25 ft. in width. Claudian stamps of Terra Sigillata potters (Aquitanus, Ardacus, Fronto, Rusticus) were found in rubbish-pits, and the camp was burnt down on 1st May A.D. 69. In A.D. 70 there was a great irruption of the sea into the heart of the land, spreading a deposit of clay over the ruined Claudius-Nero camp, and effectually sealing it up. Overlying this clay was a layer of shells, both fresh-water and marine (mussel, cockle, etc.). Later on the water retreated, and a second camp was erected on the same site, between A.D. 150 and 155, surrounded by a stone wall resting on piles which did not quite reach the remains of the wall of the earlier camp. This Antonine camp lasted until A.D. 258. Even in the small area that could be excavated a large number of stamped tiles were found, mostly of the legion from Lower Germany, *exercitus Germaniae inferioris* (EX GER INF), made in the first half of the third century, but also of Legio XXX, Legio I Minervia, COH II HISP PED, COH I MAV[RORVM], and a tile with the consular stamp SVB DIDIO IVL[IANO CONSVLARE] from a building, probably a watchtower, built about A.D. 180.

Owing to the circumstance that the two periods of the Roman camps are so clearly defined it would have been advantageous from a chronological point of view if the finds from each occupation had been classified into the two distinct periods of A.D. 50-69 and A.D. 150-258 instead of being amalgamated in a single list, even though the two occupations are indicated by I or II respectively after each item. A double classification of this nature would, in particular, have greatly enhanced the value and significance of the careful and exact drawings of Dr. Anna Roes of the seventy pieces of decorated Terra Sigillata.

Before the actual excavation of the Roman camps the overlying Merovingian-Carolingian cemetery was investigated and described in this Report, and above these graves the remains of the tenth-century church of St. Salvator were discovered.

FELIX OSWALD.

## Periodical Literature

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*Bulletin of the John Rylands Library, Manchester*:—The University of Manchester, by H. Guppy; Richard Rolle and a bishop, by S. J. F. Arnould; Aspects of Sumerian civilization in the third dynasty of Ur, 6, by T. Fish; The authorship of the 'Discourse of the Commonweal', by E. Hughes; The anniversary service for Blanche, Duchess of Lancaster, 12th September 1374, by N. B. Lewis; Dante's preparation for the 'Divine Comedy', by W. H. V. Reade; Notes and extracts from the Semitic MSS. in the John Rylands Library, iii, Samaritan Pentateuch MSS., by E. Robertson; St. Mark xiv, 72: an Aramaic mistranslation, by Rev. F. Bussby.

*Transactions of the Newbury District Field Club*, vol. 7, nos. 3 and 4:—An early settlement at Theale, near Reading, by S. Piggott; A Saxon cross shaft fragment from Wantage, by S. Piggott; The Old Way from Basingstoke to Salisbury Plain, by H. H. Coghlan; Excavations on Churn Plain, Blewbury, Berks, by H. J. E. Peake, H. H. Coghlan, C. F. B. Marshall, and S. Piggott; The Forest of Berkshire and the wood Berroc, by H. J. E. Peake; Bronze Age cinerary urn found on the hill to the south of Newbury, 1935, by Brig.-Gen. W. K. Hardy; Middle Palaeolithic implements from Enborne Gate; A beaker and a four-legged bowl from Inkpen, by H. J. E. Peake; A medieval pot from Newbury, by W. E. Harris; A chambered long barrow near Lambourne, by L. V. Grinsell; Air photographs of a long barrow in Hants and an earthwork on the Berkshire Downs; Medieval building in Northcroft Lane, Newbury; Romano-British pottery kilns between Compton and Aldworth, Berks,

by Brig.-Gen. W. K. Hardy; Romano-British settlement at Thatcham-Newtown, by W. E. Harris; Norman motte at West Woodhay, Berks, by E. Jervoise; The Newbury district in the Neolithic age, by H. J. E. Peake; St. Bartholomew's Hospital at Newbury, by S. T. Cope.

*Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle-upon-Tyne*, 4th ser., vol. 8, no. 2:—The Roman road from High Rochester to Bridge of Aln, by I. A. Richmond, G. Askew, and P. Hunter Blair; Monumental inscriptions in St. Hilda's churchyard, South Shields, by H. T. Giles.

*Archaeologia Aeliana*, 4th ser., vol. 14:—The history of the keelmen and their strike in 1822, by W. S. Mitcalfe; The original survey for the Newcastle-Carlisle military road, by G. R. B. Spain; Members of Parliament for Newcastle-upon-Tyne (June 1377–January 1558), for Berwick-upon-Tweed (1529–58) and Morpeth (1553–8); The roof sculptures of Durham cathedral, by C. J. P. Cave; Mitford castle, by C. H. Hunter Blair; The last days of Corstopitum and the Roman wall—the coin evidence, by W. P. Hedley; A new altar to Cocidius and 'Rob of Risingham', by I. A. Richmond and J. McIntyre; Isaac Thompson's plan of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 1746, by T. Wake; The walls of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, illustrated from drawings by George Bouchier Richardson, by C. H. Hunter Blair; The Roman works at Chew Green, Coquetdalehead, by I. A. Richmond and G. S. Keeney; The fort on Hadrian's Wall at Halton, by F. G. Simpson and I. A. Richmond; Fifth report on excavations at Housesteads, by E. Birley; The Stangate at Chesterholm, by R. P. Wright; The Roman road from Bowes to Binchester, by R. P. Wright; Tynemouth priory, by H. H. E. Craster and R. N. Hadcock; Centurial stones from the Vallum west of Denton Burn, by I. A. Richmond and E. Birley; The family of Muschamp, barons of Wooler, by Sir Arthur M. Oliver.

*Norfolk Archaeology*, vol. 26, part 2:—The Roman villages at Brettenham and Needham and the contemporary road system, by R. Clarke and I. E. Moore; The medieval glass in the churches of St. John the Baptist, Mileham, and All Saints and St. Michael's-at-Plea, Norwich, by Rev. C. Woodforde; Finds on a Roman site at Caister-on-Sea, Norfolk, by P. E. Rumbelow; The evidences for Kett's rebellion, by J. W. M. Vyse; John Christopher Hampp of Norwich, an importer of ancient glass, by E. A. Kent; Roman pottery from Caistor-next-Norwich, by D. Atkinson; Literature relating to Norfolk archaeology and kindred subjects, 1936.

*Proceedings of the Somersetshire Archaeological Society*, vol. 82:—A survey of the Somerset fairs, by Rev. N. F. Hulbert; Discovery of neolithic pottery on Meare Heath, by H. St. George Gray; A hoard of late Roman coins from Shapwick Heath, by H. St. George Gray; Monumental brasses in Somerset, vi, by A. B. Connor; The manor of Poyntington, by Sir H. Maxwell Lyte; The Meare lake village excavations, 1936, by A. Bulleid and H. St. George Gray; Earthwork at Emborough; St. Bridget's chapel, Beckery; Members of Parliament for the county of Somerset, v, by Miss S. W. Bates Harbin; Report of the Annual Meeting at Wells.

*Transactions of the Southend-on-Sea Antiquarian Society*, vol. 3, no. 2:—



The Crowstone at Leigh-on-Sea considered in relation to other Thames mark-stones, by W. B. Wyatt.

*Proceedings of the Suffolk Institute of Archaeology*, vol. 22, part 3:—Glass-painters in England before the Reformation, by Rev. C. Woodforde; The old cottages and farm-houses of Suffolk, by C. J. W. Messent; Roman remains in Scole, by C. H. Gale; Roman pottery from Waterloo, Scole, by J. E. Moore; First and second reports on excavations at Grey Friars monastery, Dunwich, Suffolk, by N. E. S. Norris; Catalogue of beneficed clergy of Suffolk, 1551–1631, by R. F. Bullen; Bungay Castle: i, Note on excavations in 1936, by H. Braun, ii, Report on pottery from the mortar layer, by G. C. Dunning; The Roman settlement at Stanton Chair (Chare) near Ixworth, Suffolk, by G. Maynard and B. Brown.

*Sussex Notes and Queries*, vol. 6, no. 6:—The custumal of Winchelsea, by W. M. Homan; Some Sussex book-plates of the eighteenth century, by Harriet K. James; Sussex entries in London registers, by W. H. Challen; A Wealden ridgeway; Bramber castle, by E. F. Salmon; Sussex church plans, xl, St. Dunstan, Mayfield; Treasure Trove at Selsey; Coffin-slab from Toddington; Palstave found at Newhaven; Early Romano-British cremation near Woodingdean, Brighton; New-Wyke (eventually Newick), the name; Stone mortar from Arundel; Excavations at Highdown Hill; A Bronze Age burial at Lower Tongdean, Hove; 'Diex Aie' and the Coronation; Iron fire-back.

*Transactions of the Thoroton Society of Nottinghamshire*, vol. 40:—The Barton family of Holme-by-Newark, by N. Truman; A list of words illustrating the Nottinghamshire dialect, by E. L. Guilford; Lenton Priory, by H. Green; Note on pottery and tiles discovered during the Lenton priory excavations, by A. Parker; A note on the seals of Lenton priory, by Rose Graham; Lenton as an open-field village, by H. Green; Old Dorothy Vernon house, Friar Lane, Nottingham; A note on the population of Nottingham in the seventeenth century, by A. C. Wood.

*Proceedings of the West Cornwall Field Club (archaeological)*, vol. 1, part 1:—500 B.C.—A.D. 400; Stone mortaria in west Cornwall, by Lt.-Col. F. C. Hirst; List of antiquities so far discovered on Foage farm, Zennor.

*The Wiltshire Archaeological Magazine*, June 1937:—Horns of Urus said to have been found in a barrow at Cherhill, by Mrs. Cunningham; River captures near Devizes, by Lt.-Col. R. H. Cunningham; Salisbury and the navigation of the Avon, by T. S. Willan; Notes on churches, by the late Sir Harold Breakspear; The old belfry in the close of the canons of Salisbury, by Canon J. M. J. Fletcher; Migration and settlement, Presidential Address, by F. Stevens; Wall paintings in Oaksey church, by Canon E. H. Goddard; Search for arms in Wiltshire in 1612, by B. H. Cunningham; A late Bronze Age habitation site on Thorny Down, Winterbourne Gunner, by J. F. S. Stone.

*Transactions of the Worcestershire Archaeological Society*, new series, vol. 13:—Old painted glass in Worcestershire, iii, by Mary A. Green; The Romany in Worcestershire, by Mrs. Berkeley; All Saints' church, Worcester, by Rev. W. R. Buchanan-Dunlop; The Pakingtons of West-

wood, by E. A. B. Barnard; Old Ripple, by E. F. Gray; Two eighteenth-century travellers in Worcestershire, ii, by H. B. Walters.

*Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*, vol. 33, part 3:—An ancient chest from Brighthouse; The foundation of chantries in the counties of Nottingham and York, 1350–1400, part ii, by Marjorie A. Riley; Comparison of the keeps of Bungay and Scarborough, by H. Braun; Cup-and-ring markings to the north of Otley, by E. T. Cowling; New records of the Pilgrimage of Grace, by A. G. Dickens; A document relating to the collection in Yorkshire of a subsidy under the Act of 1601, by C. T. Clay; The Kellington serpent-stone, by Canon E. C. Hudson; Giants' graves, Penygent, by W. Bennett; The Roman villa at Rudston, fourth interim report, by K. A. Steer.

*Archaeologia Cambrensis*, vol. 92, part 1:—Some Welsh pre-Norman stones, by I. Williams and V. E. Nash-Williams; Humphrey Lhuyd's maps of England and of Wales, by F. J. North; The Chartres *Historia Brittonum*, by A. W. Wade-Evans; Excavations at Breiddin Hill camp, Montgomeryshire, 1933–5, by B. H. St. J. O'Neil; How did the hill-fort builders reach the Breiddin? a tentative explanation, by Lily F. Chitty; Y Gardden hill-fort, Ruabon, Denbighshire, by Willoughby Gardner; The megalithic monuments of Gower: their relation to topography; Bracelets and coins found at Braich-y-Dinas, Penmaenmawr; Holed stone from south Caernarvonshire; The Four Crosses burial chamber, Caernarvonshire; A map of the routes of Henry Tudor and Rhys ap Thomas through Wales in 1485; A map showing the territorial divisions of Wales before the Act of Union, 1536; A deer antler implement from Llanddona, Anglesey; A bronze dagger from near Penmachno, Caernarvonshire; Parc le Breos, Gower.

*Transactions of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion*, 1936:—The Welsh manuscripts in the British Museum Collection, by H. I. Bell; Oliver Cromwell in South Wales, 1648–9, by H. M. Vaughan; Primitive magic in the lives of the Celtic Saints, by Rev. G. Hartwell Jones; The Lleyr recusancy case, 1578–81, by E. Gwynne Jones; Old St. David's, Radnor, Penn., 1700–1906, by Archdeacon A. O. Evans; Ancient Celtic symptoms in Arthurian romance, by Prof. J. W. Thompson.

*Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies*, vol. 8, part 4:—Caernarvonshire Subsidy Roll, 1597–8, by E. G. Jones; Two Welsh Catholic *émigrés* discuss the accession of James I, by A. H. Dodd; A note on the population of Wales, 1536–1801, by D. Williams; Field survey of Glamorgan: the defensive earthworks of Gower, by Sir Cyril Fox; Roman coins from Dolaucothi, by B. H. St. J. O'Neil; Current work in Welsh archaeology.

*Transactions of the Glasgow Archaeological Society*, new series, vol. 9, part 1:—Antiquities in the neighbourhood of Otter Ferry, Loch Fyne, by Rev. G. F. A. Knight; The crannog at Lochend, Coatbridge, by J. Monteith, with a report on the osseous remains, by J. R. Robb; Notes on the discovery of a peat moss at Cambusnethan, by L. McL. Mann, with reports on the osseous remains by Prof. J. Graham, on the cloths and dyes by R. G. Eskdale, and on the shoes by W. Martin; The microlithic industries of Scotland, by A. D. Lacaille.



*Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, vol. 67, part 1 :—The brief for the defence at the trial of John and Henry Sheares in 1798, by Rev. K. R. Brady; History of the Irish linen and cotton printing industry in the eighteenth century, by Ada K. Longfield; The Partholm legend, by H. Morris; Some further medieval seals out of the Ormond archives, including that of Donel Reagh MacMurrough Kavanagh, King of Leinster, by E. Curtis; Notes on some Irish place-names, by E. ÓTuathail; Excavations at Ballyrenan, co. Tyrone, by O. Davies; The silver mines of Ormond, by D. F. Gleeson; The Ballylongford crucifix; Excavations in co. Tyrone; Observations in Kilgreany cave, co. Waterford; Clonmel antiquities; Three-ringed fort at Clonacody, co. Tipperary; Find of skulls in Goldenport, co. Wicklow; Sheela-na-Gig at Kilmacomma, co. Waterford; Sheela-na-Gig, Clenagh castle, co. Clare; Coin hoard in co. Clare; The circuit of Muirchertach; Hanging bowls; Gallans at Barryshall, co. Cork; Easter cycles in the Irish church; Togail Bruidne da Derga.

*American Journal of Archaeology*, vol. 41, no. 2 :—Excavations in the Athenian Agora, by T. L. Shear; New discoveries at Tepe Gawra and Khafaje, by E. A. Speiser; The architectural significance of the use of the words *stoa* and *basilike* in classical literature, by G. Downey; A head of Demosthenes in Washington, by A. D. Fraser; A pottery deposit near Temple E at Corinth, by C. G. Boulter; A Mycenaean figurine at the University of Illinois, by G. E. Mylonas; A significant break in the cistophoric coinage of Asia, by T. R. S. Broughton; The Roman basilica, by V. Müller; Excavations at Gözlü Kule, Tarsus, in 1936, by Hetty Goldman; Remarks on the epigraphic material found at Tarsus, in 1936, by A. Goetze; Queen Pudu-Hepa, by I. J. Gelb; A new fragment of the fifth century Athenian naval catalogues, by D. M. Robinson; Two Etruscan funerary urns in the New York University Archaeological Museum, by Helen R. Clifford; New items from Athens, by Elizabeth P. Blegen.

*Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, vol. 77, no. 3 :—Cenozoic cycles in Asia and their bearing on human prehistory, by H. de Terra.

*The Art Bulletin*, vol. 18, no. 4 :—The madonna of humility, by M. Meiss; Two triptychs and a crucifix in the Museo Cristiano, by P. Lesley; The iconography of the Annunciation in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, by D. M. Robb; The Grey-Fitzpayn Hours, by D. D. Egbert; The mosaics of Hammam Lif, by F. M. Biebel; A comparison of Byzantine planning at Constantinople and in Greece, by J. G. Vanderpool.

*Speculum*, vol. 12, no. 2 :—The Latin texts of *The Three Utterances of the Soul*, by R. Willard; Medieval economic relations between Flanders and Greenland, by H. S. Lucas; The Heyrons of London, by V. B. and L. J. Redstone; The authorship of the continuation of the *Eulogium Historiarum*, by E. J. Jones; The Lombard cities, Empire, and Papacy in a Cleveland manuscript, by Eva M. Sanford; Matthew 13, 55—28, 20 in two unpublished Vulgate manuscripts, by T. P. Chalker; The poems

of Robert Partes, by W. H. Cornog; Artepheus—Orpheus, by H. D. Austin; Two documents on education in thirteenth-century Genoa, by R. L. Reynolds; More about the London Vitruvius, by L. B. Jones; A medieval game in use to-day, by G. R. Stephens; Copyists' final jingles in medieval manuscripts, by L. Thorndike.

Vol. 12, no. 3:—Presentment of Englishry and the murder fine, by F. C. Hamil; Chaucer and Peter Riga, by K. Young; The lover's malady in early Irish romance, by Sarah Michie; Three early petitions of the commonalty, by G. L. Haskins; Social status at the court of King John, by J. C. Russell; The style of the *Beowulf*, by C. C. Batchelor; Petrarch and Heraclitus once more, by G. Post; Nationality in medieval Castile, by G. Davis; Brunetto Latini's *Trésor*: Latin sources on Natural science, by F. J. Carmody; Edward III and John Boendale, by H. S. Lucas; Two more alchemical manuscripts, by L. Thorndike; Vincent of Beauvais and Chaucer's Cleopatra and Croesus, by W. K. Wimsatt; Beatus Rhenanus, editor of Tacitus and Livy, by W. Allen; Saint Bonaventure, Francis Mayrow, William Vorilong and the doctrine of a plurality of worlds, by G. McColley and H. W. Miller; Interpreting literature by history, by J. S. P. Tatlock.

*Old-Time New England*, vol. 27, no. 4:—The in-laws of a Revolutionary soldier: William Copeland, of Mansfield, Mass., by Jennie F. Copeland; The steamer J. T. Morse, ii, by J. Allen, jr.; Notes on the Bulfinch church at Lancaster, Mass., by J. P. Brown.

Vol. 28, no. 1:—Newport, Rhode Island, houses—before and after, ii, by W. K. Covell; The American infant goes a-riding, by Elsie A. Parry.

*Wiener Prähistorische Zeitschrift*, vol. 24, part 1:—The question of protolithic bone implements, by F. Mühlhofer; The origin of protolithic bone implements, by A. Schmidt; Two grave finds of the Baden culture with metal associations in Lower Austria, by K. Willvonseder; A middle Bronze Age tumulus at Mies, by O. Eichhorn; Celtic silver money in Noricum, by K. Pink; A perforated axe of arsenical copper from Zwerndorf a. d. March, by K. Willvonseder; Spectral analysis of the metal finds from Leobersdorf, Lichtenwörth and Zwerndorf, by H. Pesta.

*Académie royale de Belgique: Bulletin de la Classe des Lettres*, tome 23, part 2-3:—The MS. v 4 of the Chanson de Roland, by M. Wilmotte; The legend of Oleg and the expedition of Igor, by H. Grégoire.

*Académie royale de Belgique: Bulletin de la Classe des Beaux Arts*, tome 19, part 2-3:—Le Mont des Arts, by G. Hulin de Loo, P. Saintenoy and baron Horta; Some Rubens studies, by M. Delacre.

*Académie royale de Belgique: Bulletin de la Commission royale d'histoire*, vol. 101, parts 2-4:—The coronation of Charles V at Bologna, by G. De Boom; Treaty between the archduke Leopold and the duke of Orleans in 1650, by J. Lefèvre; The seigneurie of Diest, a fief of the archbishopric of Cologne in Brabant, by J. de Sturler; A charter of Henry I of France to the abbey of St. Peter at Ghent, 1038, by F. Vercanteren.

Vol. 102, parts 1-2: The will of a thirteenth-century Liège citizen, by M. Yans; The territorial sovereignty, rules of the seigneurie and charters of enfranchisement of Herstal and Vivegnis, by E. Poncelet.

*Analecta Bollandiana*, vol. 55, parts 1 and 2 :—Review of the work and progress of the Bollandist Society from its reconstruction in January 1837 to the present day, with biographical notices of the more prominent members. An important article by G. de Jerphanion on the iconography of the saints in Cappadocian painting (from the eleventh century onwards). Characteristics and attributes of saints in Eastern art, though not used for purposes of identification as in the West, seem to have originated in Cappadocia, whence they spread westwards, and may even have influenced Western iconography which, later, had an immense development of the emblems of saints. Four spurious miracles of St. Martin of Tours, by H. Delehaye. M. Coens continues his accounts of unpublished ancient Litanies of the Saints, those described belonging to the monasteries of Saint-Arnaud (Elnone), Lobbes (diocese of Cambrai, but attached to Liège), Hastière (subject to the abbey of Waulsort), and the dioceses of Cambrai, Trèves, Utrecht, and Cologne. R. Holmes's account of the Bodleian 'codex Baroccianus 96' (*Bodleian Quarterly Record*, i (1916), 207), by H. Delehaye. The Life of the Cistercian saint, Conrad of Herlesheim (d. about 1270), by B. de Gaiffier. 'Hagiographica Celtica', 1, Notes about St. Columba of Iona, &c., by P. Grosjean.

*Bulletin des Musées royaux, Bruxelles*, 3rd ser., vol. 9, no. 1 :—Early painted glass in Belgium, by J. Helbig; A figure of St. Ursula in the bequest of G. Vermeersch, by Comte J. de Borchgrave d'Altena; A mould for pilgrims' badges, by L. Crick; A small Louis XV carriage, by J. Courtmans; North-East Iranian vases, by L. Speleers.

Vol. 9, no. 2 :—The mural decoration of the tomb of Mentouhotep, by M. Werbrouck; An engraved Antwerp glass of 1592, by H. Nicaise.

*Acta Archaeologica*, vol. 7, fasc. 2-3 :—A monograph by the editor, J. Brøndsted, on Danish inhumation graves of the Viking Age is beautifully illustrated and the text is in English, including comments on stirrups with inlay like several found in England. There is a distribution map, and perhaps the most interesting relic is that photographed on pl. x, the rim of a bronze vessel assigned to the north of England and dated about 900. P. J. Riis has an English note on Greek and Roman architectural fragments in the Danish National Museum; and Axel Steensberg has a long article, also in English, on prehistoric and medieval plough-types in north-west Europe. Carl Nordenfalk writes in German on the Tours group of Carolingian MSS. (Turonian); and a number of Bronze Age and later antiquities are described, including a bronze hoard, a boat burial, an ornamented clay hearth, and an Irish cross found in a woman's grave with a tortoise brooch.

Vol. 8, fasc. 1-2. The main article is by V. H. Poulsen, who writes on the severe style of Greek sculpture, 480-450 B.C., the material being drawn from a large number of collections duly tabulated at the end. Martin Jahn discusses the original home and subsequent expansion in northern Europe of the Vandals, and supplies a sketch-map, with typical pottery and brooches. Roman skilllets or paterae are illustrated and discussed by H. Norling-Christensen, and Peter V. Glob contributes a richly illustrated survey of fresh discoveries dating from the Early Iron Age of

Vendsyssel, including a stamp for impressing pottery. The whole issue is in German, except an English note by Niels Breitenstein on Sulla's Dream, as represented on coins and gems.

*Aarbøger for Nordisk Oldkyndighed og Historie*, 1936:—A group of megaliths in western Jutland, by T. Mathiassen; Iron-working in prehistoric Jutland, by G. Hatt; The evolution of the Icelandic calendar, by T. Thorkelsson; The gold horns from Gallehus, an archaeological determination of their style and type, by M. B. Mackeprang; The runic inscription on the Gallehus horn, by E. Moltke; Armour from the battle of Visby (1361), by B. Thordeman; A plough of the La Tène period, by A. Steensberg; The civilization of the single graves in the Danish islands, by C. J. Becker; The runic inscription on an ivory relief in the Berlin Museum, by F. Orluff; Runic researches, by E. Moltke; Stone cists of the late Stone Age, by E. Albrechtsen.

*Sitzungsberichte der Gelehrten Estnischen Gesellschaft*, 1935:—Two old vocabularies of the Votic language, by P. Ariste; The architectural history of Tallinn castle, by A. Tuulse; St. Mary's chapel in the Olai church at Tallinn and its sculpture, by S. Starling; East Asiatic coins in the collection of the society, by W. Anderson; Ivangorod as an independent town, 1617-49, by A. Soom.

*Finskt Museum*, vol. 43:—Discoveries at Loima, by E. Kivikoski; Bornholm in the parish of Nagu, by C. A. Nordman; A thirteenth-century Suedo-Finnish sculpture group, by H. Wentzel; The work of Notke and Heyde in Finland, by R. Strandberg; N. Kunelakis and J. Weniger, two foreign portrait painters in Finland, by M. Hirn; A silver object from Åland, by R. Hansen.

*Suomen Museo*, vol. 43:—The discovery of the skeleton of a seal of the Stone Age in Narpio and Oulujoki, by J. Leppäaho, M. Sauramo, and V. A. Korvenkontio; The wooden idol from Pohjankuru, by J. Leppäaho; The geological determination of the age of the wooden sculpture from Pohjankuru, by E. Hyyppä; New finds of the Bronze Age in Finland, by E. Kivikoski; Ancient snow-shoes and sledge runners, by T. I. Itkonen.

*L'Anthropologie*, tome 47, nos. 1-2 (Avril 1937):—Marcellin Boule's study of *Sinanthropus* is well illustrated and leads to the conclusion that man was not a sudden and independent creation, but slowly and painfully emerged from the order of Primates owing to a more developed brain. Father Teilhard de Chardin contributes notes on human palaeontology in southern Asia, with a diagram showing the archaeological sequence: references to recent work in Java are given on p. 27. Prof. Vaufreycy furnishes a good account of the Oslo Congress of 1936, with a few illustrations; and reviews Messrs. King and Oakley's 'Pleistocene succession in the lower Thames valley' (*Proc. Prehist. Soc.*, N.S. II, part 1). Recent work on the Pleistocene in Palestine and elsewhere is noticed on pp. 119-23; and Dr. Grahame Clark's book on the Mesolithic of north Europe is reviewed at some length. Works on the extreme north of Europe, rock paintings in Spain, prehistoric art in Germany, and the megalithic period of north Europe are also noticed, and the Editor discusses the

latest volume of Messrs. Peake and Fleure. Palaeolithic representations of the human form have been enumerated by Dr. Kühn (p. 189); and there are two pages on the human skull from Swanscombe, discovered by Mr. Marston (p. 190). Dr. Vaufrey's remarks on the patination of chipped flints also deserve attention (p. 213).

*Bulletin de la Société préhistorique française*, tome 34, no. 3. It has been found necessary to limit papers published by this Society to five printed pages, with a maximum of two photographs or three drawings, unless subsidized by the author. Dr. Regnault discusses Mlle Dimier's contention that the bone and ivory needles of La Madeleine could not have been used for sewing leather with sinew, but were adapted for use with thread on cloth, the thread being perhaps made from nettle-fibre. Dr. Chauvet publishes a rare specimen of iron to demonstrate the method of hafting shouldered stone axes or adzes from Indo-China. M. Grünevald draws attention to a material called Apotella for moulding bone-engravings. A two-handled cauldron found with a hoard in Compiègne Forest is compared with one from Radewell in Saxony, and a distribution map is supplied. M. Aufrère deals with the industrial aspect of flint in primitive archaeology, and M. Vignard adds a note on the effect of bone on patina. An article by Dr. Baudouin and Comte de G. de Germond on button-buttet celts is fully illustrated, and Bas-Poitou seems to be their home.

No. 4 (avril 1937). Count Bégouen continues the discussion on the use of La Madeleine needles and describes their manufacture: cases of re-boring show that the eye was not pierced before the splinter was removed from the parent bone. Abbé Nouel draws attention to grooves due to rubbing or polishing on a dolmen at Andonville, Loiret; and notes the rarity of Upper Palaeolithic finds near Orleans, but these include piercers fine enough to make the eyes of needles. M. Duteurtre records specimens of the Clacton industry at Cap de la Hève, near Le Havre; and M. Montrot describes the palaeolithic site of Fontmore (Vellèches, Vienne), adding a map and many good illustrations of implements, including a plate in colour of jasper specimens. Abbé Lemozi describes the Grotte du Cantal in the valley of the Célé near Cabrerets, Lot, and reproduces some sketchy wall-paintings of the latest stage of La Madeleine.

*Bulletin Archéologique*, Années 1932-33 [1936]:—Roman inscriptions in Tunis, by C. Saumagne; Two inscriptions from Badis and Lecourbe, by E. Albertini; Stamped tiles from Djebel-Krech-el-Art-souma, by J. Despois; Trial excavations at Carthage, by C. Saumagne; Inscriptions from Tebessa, by A. Truillot; Roman inscriptions from TebourSouk, Pont romain, and Avedda, by L. Poinssot; Inscriptions at Nîmes, by E. Esperandieu; A Gallo-Roman building at St Aubin-sur-Gaillon, by G. Poulain; Antiquities from Tebessa, by A. Truillot; Inscriptions in Tunis, by L. Poinssot and C. Saumagne; Discovery of a pottery kiln at Courmelois, by G. Chenet; Tombs at Thala, by A. Contencin; A find of Roman coins at St Georges-sur-Loire, by Canon Durville; Herring-bone decoration on some Gallo-Roman stones in the museum at Sens, by Mlle A. Hure; Some milestones in Tunis, by L. Poinssot; An inscription at Altava, by L. Leschi; Punic inscriptions



from Carthage, by F. Icard; Three inscriptions from El-Kantara, by H. Marrou; A contorniate medal from Thala, and inscriptions from Djezza, by L. Poinssot; Inscriptions from Madaure and Lambesis, by E. Albertini; Inscriptions from Cherchel, by L. Leschi; A Christian inscription from Carthage, by C. Saumagne; Trial excavation in the Punic cemetery on the Colline de St. Louis at Carthage, by C. Saumagne; Christian inscriptions from Tunis, by L. Poinssot; Roman antiquities in Algeria, by A. Truillot; Excavations at Carthage, by R. P. Lapeyre; Recent discoveries in Tunis, by L. Poinssot; Inscriptions from Zana, by L. Leschi; Jewish and Punic inscriptions from Carthage, by Abbé Chabot; Ancient monuments in Tunis, by A. Merlin; Sculpture and inscriptions at Beni-Kraled, by L. Poinssot; Excavation of a church at Henchir Goraat-ez-Zid, by Lieut. de Lardemelle; Gallo-Roman potteries at Vichy, by Mlle A. Hure; Roman inscriptions in Algeria, by L. Leschi; Two stelae from Thuburbo Majus, by L. Poinssot; Inscriptions from Avedda and Uccula, by L. Poinssot; An cenochoe from Tebessa, by E. Albertini; Punic potter's stamp from Villaricos, by Abbé Chabot; Inscribed stones from Talidat, by Lieut.-Col. Tarret; The *schola* at Chemtou, by C. Saumagne; The prehistory of Franche-Comté, by M. Pirouet; Neolithic sites containing small piercers in the Saintonge, by M. Clouet; Objects of dress and ornament which permit of the determination of the route of certain migratory tribes across France towards the end of the Hallstatt period, by H. Corot; A pre-Roman iron trade route in Languedoc and Provence, by H. de Gérin-Ricard; 'La Cucurotte', a Gaulish house near Varilhes, by H. Bégouen and J. Vezian; Excavations at the Hallstatt site at Vix, by J. Lagorgette; Notes on the 'Cité Angoumoisine' and its Roman roads, by E. Galopaud; The Gallo-Roman site at Souils, by U. Rouchon; Discoveries in the Roman village of Bolar, by E. Bertrand and E. Guyot; Gallo-Roman cemetery at Corcelles les Monts, by E. Guyot; The coin finds and Gallo-Roman excavations at Baalon, by G. Chenet; The vases of Bavay, by P. Darche; Unpublished coin hoard at Langres, by Abbé G. Drioux; Gaulish and Gallo-Roman remains at Silvarouyres, by Mlle A. Valdan; A Roman villa with burials at Gondrexange, by E. Linckenheld; Alaman, Frankish, and Merovingian tombs in the basin of the Ill, by L. G. Werner; The barbarian cemetery at Audincourt, by E. Salin; The foliage sculpture in the Sainte Chapelle, by Mlle D. Jalebert; Tokens of the chapter of Evreux, by H. Lamiray; Some seal matrices of the south of France, by R. Gandilhon; Christian inscriptions from the neighbourhood of Cap Bon, by L. Poinssot; The chapel of bishop Honorius at Sbeitla, by L. Poinssot.

*Bulletin Monumental*, vol. 87, no. 1:—The thirteenth- and fourteenth-century churches in the Département of La Manche, by M. Thibout; The mystery of the church of St. Étienne at Dèols, by F. Deshoulières; The collegiate church of Notre Dame at Châtellerault, by A. Orrillard; Medieval statues of the Virgin and Child in the old diocese of Coutances, by A. Rostand; The restoration of the church of St. Remi at Reims, by L. Demaison; A capital at Quercy, by L. Lacroeq.

*Préhistoire*, tome 5, fascicule unique. An article by the late Dr. Henri

Martin throws light on the daily life of La Quina man in the period of Le Moustier; and the question whether perforated phalanges were due to the canine teeth of beasts of prey or to their conversion into whistles is decided in favour of the former theory. The main article is by Abbé Favret, on the Hallstatt burials of Les Jogasses at Chouilly in the Marne. The illustrations are numerous, but some of the photographs are blurred. The finds are quite distinct from the classical Marne series of La Tène, no transition stage being apparent; and there is an interesting comparison with the All Cannings Cross ware on p. 105. A Celtic fortress on the plateau of Les Baux near Arles is described by F. Benoit and dated about 200 B.C.; and a Republican *as* is mentioned as a rarity among a quantity from Marseilles and Gaulish mints.

*Revue Archéologique*, 6th ser., tome 9, Jan.-Mars 1937:—The attitude of the Apollo in the west pediment of the temple at Olympia, by E. Cahen; *Imago clipeata* and εἰκὼν ἐκπλοῖος, by A. Salatch; A Celtic settlement at Croix de Hengstberg, Sarrebourg, Moselle, by C. E. Stevens; The technique of Caesar's *ponts-de-fascines*, by G. Matherat; New material for the study of the Lake-dwelling civilization, by C. F. A. Schaeffer.

*Recueil des notices et mémoires de la Société archéologique du département de Constantine*, vol. 63:—The prehistoric industries of the province of Algiers, by H. Marchand; A document dealing with the conquest of Algeria, by E. Vallet; Epitaph of an Irish soldier of the late Empire, by L. Leschi; Funerary grottoes, hypogea and rock caves of Sila, by F. Logeart; Rock engravings in the Tebessa district, by R. Le Du; Photography in the service of archaeology and geography, by E. Fercot; The rôle of the chemist in archaeology, by J. Nicolai; New Libyan inscriptions at Aïn-M'lila, by F. Logeart; A Punic Libyan inscription from Sigus, by J. B. Chabot; The origin of the word 'Corse', by M. Weissen-Szumlanska; Archaeological remains in the place at La Brèche, by J. Alquier; Recent archaeological researches at Bou-Takrematem, by A. Berther and M. Martin; Unpublished inscriptions from Batna, by G. Bel; Two Christian basilicas at Sila, by F. Logeart and A. Berthier; The last siege of Constantine, by E. Vallet.

*Bulletin de la Société archéologique de la Corrèze*, tome 59, part 1 and 2:—The battle for Uxellodunum and the excavations of M. Laurent-Bruzy, by G. Soulié; Puy-de-Lacan, by J. Bouyssonie; Puy-de-Lacan and its La Madeleine engravings, by L. and H. Kidder; Combourn and Pompadour, by L. de Nussac; The parish of St. Sernin, Brive, by H. Delsol.

*Bulletin de la Société archéologique de Nantes et de la Loire-Inférieure*, tome 76:—Brière and Briérons, by D. Barthélemy; Old country houses in Loire-Inférieure, by S. Gauthier; Ancient trade guilds, by H. Sorin; The 'Ville en Bois', the St. Clair quarter, by R. Orceau; The centenary of the Arc de Triomphe de l'Étoile and the Nantes poet Boulay-Paty, by G. Halgan; Iconography of Anne of Brittany, by E. Gabory; The library of archdeacon Le Gallo in the sixteenth century, by C. Giraud-Mangin; Julius Caesar in the country of the Namnetes and Veneti, by Colonel Balagny; Discovery of a large polished stone axe at Guérande, by



Vicomte Avenan de la Grancière; Saint-Même and the Portus Vittraria, by E. Poirier; The deviation of the central axis in the churches of Béré, La Trinité, and Batz, by Abbé Russon; The blessed Grignon de Montfort and the calvary at Pont-Château, by Abbé Bourdeaut; The 'colonnes infernales' at Montfaucon-sur-Moine at the beginning of 1744, by Commandant E. Mollat.

*Bulletin de la Société des antiquaires de Picardie*, 1936, part 4:—Five destroyed Amiens churches, by P. Dubois; The castle of Olhain, by R. Rodière; A fifteenth-century Amiens organist, by H. Stein.

*Mémoires de la Société des antiquaires de Picardie*, tome 47:—The ancient Gothic churches of the Boulonnais, by P. Hélot; The priory of Luchaux and the provostry of Gros-Tison, by R. Dubois.

24/25 *Bericht der Römisch-Germanischen Kommission*, 1934/5:—Report on the activities of the Kommission, 1934-5, by G. Bersu, 1935-6, by E. Sprockhoff and K. Stade; The investigation of the older Stone Age in Hungary, by J. Hillebrand; Prehistoric research in Hungary 1912-36, by F. von Tompa; Late Celtic ironworking on the Altmühl, by P. Reinecke; German finds of the Imperial age from the Bavarian part of Germania Magna, by P. Reinecke; Italian decorated sigillata from Rhaetia and Roman Germany, by L. Ohlenroth.

*Germania*, Jahrgang 21, Heft 2:—The Urmitz earthwork at Koblenz, by K. H. Wagner; Long houses in an Urnfield culture cemetery at Mülheim, by K. H. Wagner; The earthwork on the Petersberg in Siebengebirge, by W. Kersten; The earthwork on the Dommelsberg at Koblenz, by K. H. Wagner; The Germanic settlement of Haffe, by W. Kersten; The circle at Otzenhausen, by W. Dehn; The cemetery at Horath, by W. Kimmig; Early Bronze Age graves at Leopoldsdorf, by K. Willvonseder; Germania as the symbol of the warlike qualities of the Roman army, by A. Alföldi; Maps of the protohistoric settlement of the Trier district, by H. Koethe; Roman quarry at Cernavoda, Rumania, by G. Florescu; The tombstone of Bertichild at Kempten near Bingen, by G. Behrens; The earthwork at Altencelle, by E. Sprockhoff; A woman's grave at Kölleda, Thuringia, by V. Toepfer.

*Nachrichtenblatt für Deutsche Vorzeit*, Jahrgang 13, Heft 3:—The microscope and test glass in excavations, by W. von Stokar; A simple method of making outline drawings, by K. Krenn; A middle Stone Age hut at Bockum, by H. Piesker; Finds in Württemberg, by O. Paret; A Viking cemetery at Elbing, by W. Neugebauer.

Jahrgang 13, Heft 4:—A scientific auxiliary to prehistoric chronology, by R. Bock and L. Franz; The earliest traces of man in north-east Germany, by H. Gross; Excavations on the 'Schlossberg' at Alt-Christberg, by Dr. Lansdorff and Dr. Schleif; The open-air station at Palmineker-Kraxtepelle, by W. Gaerte.

Jahrgang 13, Heft 5-6:—Chronological review of new discoveries in the Bonn district, 1933-6, by R. von Üslar; Earthwork at Urmitz, by K. H. Wagner; Stone Age post huts at Mayen, by K. H. Wagner; Bronze Age tumulus at Giershofen, by K. H. Wagner; Long houses in the urn graveyard at Mulheim, by K. H. Wagner; Tumulus at Briedeler

Heck, by K. H. Wagner; The earthwork on the Dommelsberg at Coblenz, by K. H. Wagner; The earthwork on the Guldensberg at Lohmar, by W. Buttler; Excavations on the Petersberg, by W. Kersten; The Germanic settlement at Hassen, by W. Kersten; Frankish settlement at Gladbach, by H. Stoll and K. H. Wagner; New Frankish cemeteries of the fifth to eighth centuries on the left bank of the Lower Rhine, by U. Steeger; Pre- and proto-historic research in the Trier district, by W. Dehn, H. Koethe, and L. Hussong.

*Mannus*, 1937, Heft 2. The neolithic culture of Baalberg in central Germany is discussed by Dr. Grimen who supplies a development scheme for the pottery, and a distribution map between the Hartz Mountains and the Elbe. Window-urns are sometimes found in England, and Karl Waller deals with the origin of Saxony specimens. Horst Ohlhaver has a long article on the folklore of megalithic monuments; and Dr. Hülle writes on the racial question in South Germany. Angular measurements are used by Dr. Rolf Müller to explain the Kriemhildenstuhl at Dürkheim; and some prehistoric pottery is illustrated from unburnt burials at Weschitz (Kaaden, near Saaz).

*Roemische Mitteilungen*, vol. 51, parts 3 and 4. A class of small Etruscan bronze figures, belonging to braziers and other objects, apparently produced at Clusium (Chiusi), by K. A. Neugebauer. Detailed examination of the Vienna cameo with four Imperial heads rising from two cornucopias by S. Fuchs, who shows that the pair on the right represent Germanicus and the elder Agrippina, and those on the left Claudius and the younger Agrippina. The occasion will have been the marriage of the latter pair. A long article by H. von Schoenebeck contains an exhaustive account of Christian sculptured sarcophagi under Constantine, considered from every point of view, with introductory remarks on third-century examples, and closing ones on the changes of style seen in work of the time of Theodosius. R. Heidenreich shows from an examination of the details that the relief in the Vatican from the temple at Praeneste probably represents a bireme belonging to some North African state (perhaps Mauretania under Juba II and Cleopatra Selene) serving in the fleet of Antonius at Actium. F. Muthmann describes the fragments of an Imperial statue in military garb (Ny Carlsberg), the details of which, he thinks, point to Augustus rather than to the second century A.D. Unexplained details in representations of ancient book-rolls, by E. Pfuhl.

*Der Kongelige Norske Videnskabers Selskabs Skrifter*, 1936:—Boat-burial at Jøa in Namdal, by P. Fett.

*Memórias da Academia das Ciências de Lisboa. Classe de Letras*, tomo 1:—The origin and development of the nobility in Portugal, by A. de Dornelas; Deus 'Arentius', by F. A. Pereira; The processes of the Inquisition as historical documents, by J. L. de Azevedo; The characteristics of Portuguese galleons, by Q. da Fonseca; Portuguese costume in the middle ages, by Q. da Fonseca; The problem of the tonnage of the ships of Vasco da Gama, by Q. da Fonseca.

*Eurasia Septentrionalis Antiqua*, vol. 11:—The Arctic Bronze Age in Europe, by A. M. Tallgren; 'Portable altars', by A. M. Tallgren; The

South Siberian cemetery of Oglakty from the Han period, by A. M. Tallgren; Lead plates in Odessa, by A. Salmony; Studies of the Pontic Bronze Age, by A. M. Tallgren; The origin of the so-called Mordvien antiquities, by A. M. Tallgren; Precucutenian civilization recently found at Izvoare, Moldavia, by R. Vulpe; Enamelled ornaments in the valley of the Desna, by A. M. Tallgren; Chinese arrows of the Ching dynasty, by V. J. Tolmačev; Scythian antiquities in Siebenburgen, by M. von Roska.

*Fornvännen*, 1937, häfte 2. An article by Gunnar Ekholm on Roman glass vessels found in Scandinavia records no less than 260 specimens, those of the Early Empire being rare and good; the bulk came in under the later Empire, when the old Rhine route was supplemented by trade from the Black Sea. A distinction is drawn between pieces of Western European and oriental origin, and more than fifty are referred to the Migration period. Hut-sites in peat in Kronoberg, south Sweden, are assigned to the Bronze Age by Korut Kjedemark who illustrates the stone rings marking habitations. Early northern funeral rites are discussed by Albert Wiberg; and a horseman's grave of the Roman Iron Age in Västergötland is described by Birger Norman, the principal find being a prick-spur with damascening.

*Goteborgs och Bohusläns Fornminnesförenings Tidskrift*, vol. 4:—Latest results of the exploration of Bohuslän Stone Age settlements, by J. Alin; Divisions of the west Swedish Stone Age, by H. Thomasson; A settlement of the later Stone Age at Rörvik, by S. Janson; Find of bones at the Rörvik settlement, by P. Henrici; Swedish property in Bohuslän: studies in Bohuslän's early nobility, by J. A. Nordström.

*Berytus*, vol. 3, fasc. 1:—Aspects of Parthian art in the light of discoveries from Dura-Europos, by C. Hopkins; The cult of Adonis in North Africa, by H. Stocks; Antique leaden sarcophagi, by E. von Mercklin; An early Assyrian legal document on a tablet at Beyrouth, by A. Goetze; Inscriptions and sculptures from Palmyra, i, by H. Ingholt.

*Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte*, tome 36, fasc. 3:—Ramesside stelae from the Eastern Desert, by G. Brunton; The stela of Nefer-roupet, by P. C. Labib; A speaking statue or the oracle of the god Ra-Harmakhis, by G. Loukianoff; The medallion of Dahshûr, by A. Lucas and G. Brunton; Scarabs with names of private persons of the Middle and New Kingdoms in the collection of H.M. King Fuad I, by G. Steindorff; New geographical lists of Amenophis III at Karnak, by A. Varille.

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### *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries*

*Thursday, 29th April 1937.* Sir Frederic Kenyon, President, in the Chair.

Mr. H. E. Palfrey was admitted a Fellow.

The President announced that he had appointed Mr. Charles Johnson to be a Vice-President of the Society.

Mr. C. J. P. Cave, F.S.A., and Dr. Tancred Borenius, F.S.A., read a paper on the Ceiling of Peterborough Cathedral.

*Thursday, 6th May 1937.* Sir Frederic Kenyon, President, in the Chair.

Prof. H. F. Humphreys was admitted a Fellow.

The list of Local Secretaries for the quadrennial period 1937-41 was laid before the Society and approved.

Prof. John Garstang, F.S.A., read a paper on the earliest cultures of Palestine and Cilicia.

The Ordinary Meetings of the Society were then adjourned until Thursday, 21st October 1937.

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